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The
Canadian Historical Association

Report of the Annual Meeting
Held at Halifax
June 10 and 11, 1949

With Historical Papers

Edited by
R. A. PRESTON and G. F. G. STANLEY

TORONTO
THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
1949

+ 5000 . C 26 1949

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The editors are grateful to the authors of the above papers for their co-operation in shortening them from their original length so that they could be published in the amount of space available.

Two papers which were presented at joint sessions of the Canadian Historical Association and the Canadian Political Science Association are not included here. "The Municipal Corporations Act of 1849" by J. H. Aitchison has appeared in the June, 1949 issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* and "The Work of the Nova Scotia Research Foundation" by R. D. Howland was published in the August, 1949 number of the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.

Articles in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION REPORT are indexed in the *Canadian Index*.

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A DILEMMA FOR OUR CULTURE

Presidential Address by Abbé ARTHUR MAHEUX
Laval University

To talk culture has become fashionable. Books and periodicals are full of that subject. Anthropologists, sociologists, historians, have dug deeply into the strata of human culture. The research work has gone so far that the meaning of the word "culture" has been widened to include, not only the higher forms of civilization, but also the humblest kinds of culture found in the remotest parts of the earth. Learned men like Toynbee, to mention only one, have produced large works with culture as their central theme. These books do not mention "Canadian culture." Yet there is, or at least there will be, a Canadian culture. That is our main problem today.

Canada is made up of two principal groups—one of French origin, the other of British origin. France and England, at the time the settlers and immigrants came to America, were the foremost representatives of western culture. They already had a literature and works of fine art; they were beginning to observe nature and to find laws for natural phenomena; they had evolved a social structure of high quality; and they were prepared to go much farther along cultural lines. In government, France and Great Britain had evolved from their medieval condition to become "nations," to be what we usually call "modern nations." They had been at war for long periods, and little by little their differences had been deliberately accentuated, mainly on the cultural level.

Derived from these two nations, the settlers of New France, and later of Canada, preserved in America the same opinions about cultural differences as had existed in Europe. As they participated, even in America, in wars declared and waged in Europe for European reasons, the French and the English settlers continued to believe that they were fundamentally different on all scores. In the French-Canadian schools, the history that was taught was that of Mother France. In the English-Canadian schools it was that of Mother England. The greatest part of school text-books was devoted to wars between the two countries. School children were taught that France and Great Britain had always been enemies; they were made to believe that the cultures of these two nations were different, opposed, irreconcilable.

Little by little Canadians came to think that there were reasons for teaching something of the history of the country in which they lived. It was called "History of Canada," and also "National" history. It was mainly a branch of the history of the two Mother Countries with wars the central theme. The idea of "nation" pervaded it, just as one might have expected. The French Revolution, the research work of the Germans, the insularity of Britain, all these had developed the phenomenon called nationalism. The teaching of history became nationalist, a glorification of one nation, a demonstration that that nation was the best, the greatest, and the most superior. Our text-books in Canadian history have followed those trends for a long time. They have been nationalist text-books. They have imbued the young with the idea that the French and English in Canada are widely separated along cultural lines.

In this way we have created a wall between the two main Canadian groups. The barrier of language was already high enough in itself to separate them. Emphasis on the wars between the two European Mother Countries and between their immigrants in America made that barrier still higher. Instruction in literature, the arts, and religion tended to have the same effect. Up to now we have thus insisted, in both Canadian groups, on emphasizing and re-emphasizing the differences between us.

The question is this: Have we been right?

The first answer to the question is that at least we have had excuse. We have done just what other nations have done. It is quite natural for youngsters to imitate grown ups and to conform to the general rules. We did not know at the time what would become of Canada. We did not think that some day our country would come of age. We were colonials, just colonials, and glad to leave to the Mother Country most of the heavy responsibilities of mature nations. Yes, we can be excused. But making excuses does not solve our problem. For a problem has been created with our natural evolution towards adulthood, and also with the changes that have taken place in the world. We want to be a nation. We dream of being a large nation. We feel that we must become a strong nation.

One condition for being a large and strong nation is unity. We realize that a certain amount of unity is essential to our ambitions. Yet in the past, we have done practically everything to create or to perpetuate divisions between the two main groups of our country. The situation occupied by Canada in world affairs makes it imperative that she should be able to give advice and to offer solutions when required. We must seek unity, the sort of unity that will be a living inspiration, a font pouring clear water, a spring that will uplift our own national life and even the life of the world. Such a conception of unity is necessarily of a very high order.

We cannot reach that high standard unless we change our views on many subjects, unless we revise our opinions about our origins, about our development, about our cultural needs. We must pay due respect to our ancestors, for all their accomplishments, but we must also be brave enough to blame them for their faults and deficiencies. Shall we, as our ancestors did, believe that, as French and English, we are different races, different cultural units, fatally bound to be enemies? No, we cannot believe that.

From the point of view of race we are exactly the same. None of us can claim to be a pure race. All of us, French or English, come from a mixture of Celts, Romans, Germans, Northmen. Most of us can trace our ancestry to Normans. As racial products, we are all on the same level, let that level be high or low. That truth must be taught as early as possible to our children, in the family circle and at school.

If we are not different by blood, is it on account of culture? Here again the answer is no. French and English belong to the same culture, are both children of western civilization. Culturally we have eaten of the same food, a food that was a mixture of Roman laws and Roman public administration, of Greek and Roman literature, arts, and philosophy, of Christian religion, of the classical spirit of the Renaissance, of modern techniques, of the love of liberty, of the democratic form of

government, of the same social experiments, of the same scientific discoveries. That, also, must be taught early to our youth in the family circle and in school. There have been wars between France and England. For a long time these wars were "dynastic" wars, in which the kings of the two countries would fight about a marriage, or for the so-called point of honour, or even for some small piece of territory. In such wars, the people of France and England were not enemies; they fought because the king wanted to fight. Later came the "imperialistic" wars. In this case the responsibility fell on the state, on the government, on the ministers of the crown, on certain hotheads, but not on the people of either country. The common peoples, the middle classes of France and England were not enemies. In spite of dynastic ambitions, in spite of imperialist dreams, the two nations could and did shake hands across the Channel. Writers, novelists, poets, dramatists, philosophers, scientists, entered into friendly relations by an exchange of letters and visits. They influenced each other. Their only quarrel, if such it can be called, was as to who was the first to have made a discovery or to have invented a chemical formula.

Nothing of that is ever told the school children, and yet that is the real history of the two countries. From that point of view our textbooks must be severely revised. We must no longer teach the history of France in Quebec and the history of England outside Quebec, but we must everywhere in Canada teach the history of western civilization as it has developed both in England and in France. Other western nations should not be excluded, of course, particularly Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, which had many contacts with the Americas, and also Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, and the rest. A window should be open towards the orthodox nations—Greece, the Balkans, Russia, and her satellites. At a higher educational level, Asiatic nations would come in, since our civilization must learn to meet theirs. With such teaching, Canadians would be well prepared to accept the idea of a world government, which seems to have become a necessity. These studies, by constant comparison, would give to young Canadians a much better idea of the value of western civilization, and would also give a much broader view of our own Canadian problems.

These problems must be studied from a lofty point of vantage. The approach would be not the consideration of an English or a French heritage, but of Canada as the recipient of a universal cultural tradition. Both British and French cultures have equal value as starting points for such a treatment of our civilization. My contention is that they are neither inimical nor opposed; they are simply different in some ways; different enough to be interesting; different enough and valuable enough to be retained and to be worked out for the common good.

Two Canadians of English language have clearly explained these differences. One is Richard M. Saunders, professor of history at the University of Toronto, in his booklet, *The French-Canadian Outlook*. The other is A. R. M. Lower, of Queen's University, in his book, *Colony to Nation*. One Canadian of French language, Esdras Minville, has made an equally valuable contribution in his book, *Le Citoyen Canadien-Français*. Those who would care to read these books could form a very good idea about the differences between the two main Canadian groups. The readers would even understand that the differences are not irrecon-

cilable. To have reached that level of understanding is already a long step towards the solution of our cultural dilemma.

Others also have worked at that problem. In the twenties of this century some of our public men began to realize that a compromise was possible between our two cultures, and that we could work them out towards national unity. Two names are important for that period: Moore, with his volume, *The Clash*, and Morley, with his book, *Bridging the Chasm*. Other writers followed their example so that recently we had the books of Wilfred Bovey, *Canadien*; of Margaret McWilliams, *This New Canada*; of Vincent Massey, *On Being Canadian*. Jean Bruchési's recent book, *Canada, réalités d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, has also much to contribute to the study of relations between the two Canadian groups. The translation of some of these works into French has been very popular in Quebec.

Many Canadians think that the main difference lies in language. I consider that that is a great exaggeration. All Canadians can become sufficiently familiar with the other language to read newspapers, magazines, and books. Many Canadians can go further and learn enough of the other language to deal with each other in the affairs of ordinary life. In that field we have made long strides during recent years. The Canadians of French language have set the example of bilingualism, not only through necessity in trade, industry, and professional activity, but also with the sincere desire of meeting their fellow citizens half way. Canadians of the English language have answered the challenge by learning French. The French courses organized for teachers by the Universities of Toronto, of Western Ontario, and of McGill are already famous. Two other English-Canadian universities, that of Alberta at Edmonton and of Queen's at Kingston, offer summer courses, the first in conversational French at Banff, the last in conversational English for French Canadians. The Department of English Protestant Education in the Province of Quebec deserves special mention; under the initiative and supervision of Dr. Percival, the study of the French language in Quebec has been reorganized on a very special basis. A society born in Toronto under a French name, *Les Visites Interprovinciales*, has had an excellent influence by arranging the exchange of young men and women between Ontario and Quebec. In all these cases the aim is primarily to learn the other language, but it is also to study the way of life of the other group. The new generation of young Canadians will be more nearly bilingual. In a certain measure it will also be bi-cultural.

Another main difference between the two groups is laid to religion; but there is much doubt and discussion on that subject. In my opinion such discussions should be left to specialists, who in this case are the theologians. There are too many people who, with very little knowledge of religious doctrines, want to impose upon others their personal beliefs. For my part it has always been a pleasure to discuss religious difficulties with educated people, who can appraise the real scope of religious problems. I really think, with many prominent Canadians, that the difference of religion is not the major difficulty in Canada, or at least that it should not be so. As it is still, in some places, a burning question, I shall not say more about it.

A greater difficulty or difference is to be found in the philosophy of life. Dr. Lower and M. Minville have dealt extensively with that prob-

lem in their books. In my opinion it is the greatest difference, though it is less well known than the others. Philosophy is not taught in the same way in French Catholic universities and in English Protestant universities. It would take too long and would be out of place here to enter into details on that subject. Scholastic philosophy is as much expounded in the French-Canadian universities as it is neglected or even despised in the English-Canadian universities. The difference is particularly important in the social and political field, in economics, and in general ethics. Even if we spoke exactly the same language, the words would not have the same meaning and a discussion would be practically impossible. I do not say that the French-Catholic universities have no regard for modern philosophy, since they teach it also, but I consider it is a pity that so little attention is given to scholastic philosophy in the English-Canadian institutions.

Literature, of course, is different in the two groups, as a result of the difference of language. Yet the difficulty may be overcome either through bilingualism or by translation. We should have an office of translation, well established and well organized, so that the most significant books could be translated as soon as they appear.

Both cultures in Canada have their merits and they can contribute to the well-being of the country. They can exert their influence separately, as has been done up to now, but they can also work jointly. If they united their forces the result might be tremendous. If we want to achieve that union, it will be necessary to make serious changes in our teaching. The French-Canadian student will have to learn more about British institutions, politics, and literature. On the other hand the English-Canadian student should study more of the French form of civilization. Both groups should closely scrutinize the development of both cultures in the American environment. We should not try to imitate France or England or even the United States; on the contrary we should borrow from those countries the best they can offer and apply it to our situation. We must also dare to devise something new, that would be our personal contribution either to the welfare of our country or to that of the world at large.

This seems to me the only way of breaking our cultural dilemma. It is impossible to uproot the French culture that has been implanted in the American soil. That culture is rich and fertile, it is eminently usable for practical purposes. Consequently all Canadians should imbibe it in schools of all degrees.

I have not yet mentioned the teaching of history, though it is a very important aspect of our cultural problem. There have been many discussions about that. Some have advocated what they call "Federal Education." That can be only a dream, since no province will ever give up its right in that field. Others have urged a single text-book throughout Canada; that also is very difficult to realize, though it is not impossible. But the best means to ensure a sound teaching of history is to entrust that teaching to teachers who have received a university degree in history. History is a science; it is taught as a science in our departments of history. Doctors and masters in history would give to their students a scientific and factual training, instead of a course in civics or even in propaganda, provided, however, that in our departments of history, an equal importance be given to both civilizations, the French

and the British. Otherwise there would be no equilibrium and the same old divisions and quarrels would remain forever.

I have imposed upon your patience a rather long series of personal opinions. Their only merit is that of sincerity and the fact that they are the result of a long study of the cultural problem in Canada. I offer them for what they are worth and I thank you for your attention.

Now you will permit me to turn for a moment to the French-speaking audience.

Je viens de mentionner la présence d'auditeurs de langue française. Dans l'espèce, il s'agit bien, sans doute, des Acadiens, et aussi des Français de France ou des îles françaises et enfin des auditeurs anglophones qui savent le français. Je suis sûr qu'il leur sera à tous agréable d'entendre résonner le verbe français en cette occasion. La naissance d'Halifax il y a deux siècles ne comportait rien d'amical pour l'élément français. C'était un avant-poste britannique dressé comme une épée au flanc de l'Empire français en Amérique. C'est d'ici que sont parties les flottes qui ont renversé Louisbourg et emporté Québec. Mais le temps a passé; il a atténué les oppositions, il a émoussé les épines; il a remis les épées au fourreau.

Acadiens, vous êtes revenus après une douloureuse dispersion, sur ce sol que vous avez été les premiers à cultiver. Dès avec Lescarbot vous avez apporté ici la culture française et vous n'avez pas voulu la laisser mourir. Sa flamme, un moment vacillante, s'est rallumée. Aujourd'hui vous avez en Nouvelle-Écosse votre université française et le Nouveau-Brunswick en a deux. La bienfaisance de ces trois institutions n'est pas contestable. Ici même à l'université de Dalhousie, vous trouvez un enseignement français, confié à des hommes toujours bien choisis. Pour ne mentionner qu'un nom je rappelerai parmi les professeurs d'autrefois, ce M. Ernest Martin, dont l'apostolat par l'enseignement et le livre a tant fait pour raviver dans le Canada oriental la flamme de la civilisation française. Ajoutons l'œuvre des Pères Eudistes et les efforts de votre clergé acadien.

Gardez votre foi dans les vertus de la culture française. C'est à vous qu'il appartient de démontrer que cette culture peut servir les intérêts du Canada. Vous avez reçu de vos aïeux un précieux héritage. Gardez-le et faites le valoir, pour le bien de tous.

The city of Halifax possesses a third element, the Irish Catholics. I cannot refrain from sending to them my personal homage and that of the Canadian Historical Association. They have done their share for the prosperity of this city. They also have their own cultural treasure to put at the service of the country. Finally, let me in my own name and in the name of our Association offer to the whole population of the city of Halifax and its civic and religious authorities the best wishes for the future.

THE NEW BRUNSWICK BACKGROUND OF SIR EDMUND HEAD'S VIEWS ON CONFEDERATION

D. G. G. KERR
Mount Allison University

THE subject of confederation is of special interest this year, particularly in the Maritime Provinces, because of the entry of Newfoundland into the Dominion. Certain other remarkable developments have taken place this year, outside Canada, in the field of federal practice and theory. There has been a modification of the federal structure of the British Commonwealth, for instance, to allow India to remain a member even after becoming a republic. A federal constitution has been approved for Western Germany, and a federation of the whole of Western Europe has been seriously considered. The North Atlantic Pact has been signed, an interesting example of a federation in the original sense of that word, that is, a league of states banded together for a common object. The Cominform confederation in the other half of the world is a somewhat less pleasing example for us to contemplate.

These wider applications of the federal principle are mentioned by way of introduction to this paper on local history for two reasons. In the first place, what was happening in Canada and New Brunswick a hundred years ago can only be properly understood in the light of broad world developments. Responsible government and confederation were, in one sense at least, local aspects of the larger nineteenth-century struggle for national self-determination on the one hand, and collective security and world order on the other. Secondly, Sir Edmund Head never confined himself entirely to the local features of any problem, and it would give a distorted impression of his views if general principles were not emphasized, even in a paper dealing mainly with the New Brunswick background of his ideas about confederation.

It has been remarked by almost everyone who has written on Head that he was a man of complex character. Before he became lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick in his early forties, he had been a student and don at Oxford, had travelled widely and had lived for some time on the continent. He had then joined the poor-law administration and for a number of years had held one of the three chief-commissionerships—probably the most perplexing and unpopular posts in the government service in the eighteen-forties. His publications included poetry and articles on such diverse topics as philology, the law of settlement, and the Bodleian Library. He was a recognized expert on painting, and on translation from numerous foreign languages, ancient and modern, including Icelandic.

Head has been called a shrewd, hard empiricist.¹ He was; and it is my intention to show that it was his practical analysis of the problems with which he was faced in New Brunswick that gave him his first real interest in confederation. No man could emerge from eleven years of poor-law administration without a firm respect for facts, and without having learned to be most cautious about theories and generalizations. On the other hand, however, no man in British North America at that

¹Chester Martin, "Sir Edmund Head's First Project of Federation, 1851" (*Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1928, 14-26).

time was more inclined than Head to go beyond the immediate circumstances and use, with the skill and sensitivity of an artist, all the resources of scholarship and experience to reach general conclusions. His public and private correspondence of this period make it clear that, having had his attention focused on confederation by the New Brunswick situation, he read widely on the subject in order to become familiar with all its ramifications. His reading in these years included such works as Aristotle's *Politics*, Mill's *Logic*, Lewis's *Essay on Authority*, and Story's *Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws*.²

Turning from books to the world around him, Head wrote in 1851, "The German States seem more hopeless than ever. Will they ever see what the difficulty of federation really is?"³ The difficulties of the United States in this connection were naturally of particular interest to him and he commented on them frequently and with clear understanding. Soon after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, for example, he wrote, "Its enactment shows that the intimate federal union of States with such different institutions is fraught with danger and difficulty. Any accident may cause an explosion."⁴ One more quotation is worth including to show his careful study of the theory of American federalism. In 1851, he pointed out that

the doubt whether the constitution of the United States is or is not strictly speaking in the nature of [a] "Federal" league or compact is yet a grave practical question and one at this moment especially pregnant with important consequences. It has been argued that if the Union be in its essence a league of independent States, Alabama or S. Carolina may or will withdraw from the compact and release the other parties. Accordingly Story lays great stress on the enacting words of the Constitution "We the people of the United States do ordain and establish this Constitution" (not "We the people of each state concurring in a league or treaty") as if the Union was "de facto" existing before the Constitution and the power of the people as exerted in its establishment was exercised in this collective capacity.⁵

Head's views on confederation were thus based partly on his wide scholarship and partly on his varied experience in a society more complex than that of the New Brunswick to which he went in 1848.

During his first years in New Brunswick, Head made some direct and a number of oblique references to the subject of British North American confederation. It is evident that he considered a union of all the provinces desirable and that he favoured, as a preliminary to it, a customs union similar to the Prussian Zollverein, common postal and

²Harpton Court, Herefordshire, Lewis Papers, Head to G. C. Lewis, letters of various dates, 1849-51. Remarks in his letters show that his choice was not altogether haphazard. Referring to Story, for instance, he wrote, "It illustrates well the difficulties occurring in a Federal Country with Laws of different characters prevailing in neighbouring states" (*ibid.*, Mar. 2, 1850). He explained his tentative plan to translate Aristotle's *Politics* by saying that "almost all the topics of the day such as slavery, federal governments, etc. etc., could be touched on in notes" (*ibid.*, Mar. 31, 1850).

³*Ibid.*, Mar. 31, 1850.

⁴*Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1850.

⁵Public Archives of Canada, Head Papers, "Draft of a Mem' on the Gov^t of the N.A.C. sent privately to Lord Grey, 1851." Printed in Martin, "Head's First Project of Federation."

currency arrangements, and the building of an intercolonial railway linking Halifax and Quebec.⁶ These projects had been studied as early as 1846 by Grey and Elgin, before the latter's departure for Canada to take up his duties as governor-general.⁷ There can be no doubt that for some two years Head simply co-operated with Grey and Elgin in carrying out a policy already laid down by them; and during this period, he always observed the greatest caution to avoid, as he put it, "presuming to discuss a question of Imperial policy which is not new to British Statesmen and is not within the limits of my administrative duties."⁸

The change in the character of Head's remarks on confederation after the fall of 1850 is significant, and indicates that he had acquired a new confidence and a new and distinctive point of view. His feeling of greater confidence came partly as a result of a visit paid to Elgin in Toronto in September of that year. Head and Elgin, and their wives, too, got on extremely well together, although actually their only previous personal contact had been when Head had examined Elgin for a fellowship at Merton.⁹ Head gained confidence also because he learned that he had attracted favourable attention at the Colonial Office. Directly and indirectly he had heard that the colonial secretary thought highly of his work in the difficult circumstances he had encountered in New Brunswick.¹⁰ Compliments from home and the warm welcome from Elgin meant a great deal to Head whose connection with the unfortunate and bitterly-attacked Poor Law Commission had given him good cause to fear initial distrust by the Colonial Office.¹¹ They gave him the encouragement he needed to put forward from now on, as occasion arose, the ideas on confederation which, as a result of his New Brunswick experience, were gradually becoming clarified in his mind as the only solution for New Brunswick's local problems.

There are three major statements of these ideas, each addressed to a different colonial secretary. The first is the well-known memorandum sent to Lord Grey early in 1851 and brought before this Association by Professor Chester Martin in 1928.¹² The second, dated December, 1852, is a separate and confidential despatch to Sir John Pakington,¹³ and the third, a memorandum prepared for Henry Labouchere in 1857.¹⁴ This latter was recently discovered by Miss Alice Stewart and printed in the *Canadian Historical Review*. Although written after Head had become governor-general, it was based very largely on knowledge he had acquired

⁶E.g. Head Papers, Head to Elgin, private, May [?27], 1848; Public Record Office, C.O. 188, vol. 108, Head to Grey, Mar. 31, 1849.

⁷See C.O. 42, vol. 541, Elgin to Grey, Jan. 23, 1847, and Feb. 18, 1847.

⁸C.O. 188, vol. 108, Head to Grey, Mar. 31, 1849.

⁹Lewis Papers, Head to Lewis, Aug. 2, 1850.

¹⁰G. F. Lewis (ed.), *Letters of the Right Hon. G. C. Lewis to Various Friends* (London, 1870), 201, Lewis to Head, Apr. 5, 1849; Lewis Papers, Head to Lewis, Mar. 31, 1851; E. Dowden (ed.), *Correspondence of Henry Taylor* (London, 1888), Taylor to Head, Nov. 16, 1851.

¹¹See Donald C. Masters, *The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854* (London, 1936), 14, note 2.

¹²Martin, "Head's First Project of Federation."

¹³C.O. 188, vol. 117, Head to Pakington, separate and confidential, Dec. 14, 1852.

¹⁴Public Archives of Canada, Series G, Governor's Files, "Memorandum on the Expediency of Uniting under One Government the Three Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island." Printed in Alice R. Stewart, "Sir Edmund Head's Memorandum of 1857 on Maritime Union: A Lost Confederation Document" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXVI, Dec., 1945, 406-19).

in New Brunswick, and showed few indications of the shift of emphasis that later occurred in his views when he became more familiar with Canadian affairs. In addition to these three comprehensive expressions of opinion, there are many scattered references to the subject of British North American confederation throughout his public and private correspondence. The particular concern of this paper is with his reasons for thinking that a union of some or all of the provinces was desirable, and with the extent to which these reasons were based on his New Brunswick experience.

Head's statements show clearly his belief that the particular value of confederation would be that it might solve two general problems he had come up against in New Brunswick and for which he saw no other satisfactory solution. The first of these was the problem of making a parliamentary type of government function in such a small and scattered community as New Brunswick. The second arose out of the fact that the political and economic ties of empire had been simultaneously loosened by the Mother Country's acceptance of the principles of responsible government and free trade. The problem, therefore, was to find some way of stopping imperial disintegration short of complete colonial independence, or if this were not possible, at least some way of ensuring that independence would not be followed by annexation to the United States.

Difficulties connected with the introduction of parliamentary or responsible government had occupied a large part of Head's attention while in New Brunswick, especially during the first two or three years. One political crisis had followed another, and he became more and more involved personally, until he virtually dictated the programme of his executive council at the beginning of 1851,¹⁵ and from then until he left the province remained its strongest bulwark.¹⁶ Time and again he pointed out that for responsible government really to be effective certain administrative changes were essential, such as the reorganization of the departmental system, the establishment of municipal institutions, and the acceptance of the principle that the initiation of money votes should be restricted to the executive council. But gradually he became convinced that some at least of the obstacles to responsible government were insuperable—that "an exact counterpart of the English System of Parliamentary Government is perhaps scarcely possible in a community of 200,000 people separated by long tracts of wilderness and Forest."¹⁷

He elaborated on this at some length in his memorandum to Labouchere in 1857, writing:

My own experience in New Brunswick . . . seems to support the doctrine that Parliamentary Government on the English system in order to work successfully requires to be applied on a certain scale . . . The public opinion of a very small community, especially if they are scattered over a large surface is neither likely to be sound in itself or regular in its action. . . . Now party action of some kind is in all free Governments a necessary element: an opposition on one side is as essential to the healthy working of a Parliament as a Ministry is

¹⁵C.O. 188, vol. 114, Head to Grey, Feb. 10, 1851, enclosure.

¹⁶Lewis Papers, Head to Lewis, Dec. 16, 1852. "My influence in the Govt. was never greater. It is quite as much now as is expedient in this kind of Colony."

¹⁷C.O. 188, vol. 113, Head to Grey, separate, Nov. 6, 1850.

on the other. But in a small community there is difficulty enough in finding the materials even for a Ministry. . . . To turn to the working of the Houses of Parliament themselves. A ministry is dependent for its existence on the vote of a majority of the Assembly. The number of the New Brunswick House is . . . 39. A single vote . . . becomes of great importance in a house of this size, and if two or three unscrupulous men combine to carry each others' jobs (a process known on this side of the Atlantic by the name of "log-rolling") they can exercise an irresistible pressure on any government. . . . On such a system every local interest is disproportionately strong as compared with the interest of the whole community. . . . If the remedy of increasing the Assemblies be proposed there are two objections:

1. The difficulty of finding fit men to sit.
2. The cost of paid members in a small colony.

In this summing up of the practical obstacles to the functioning of parliamentary government in a small community, Head was simply repeating, in a collected form, observations that he had made in numerous despatches from New Brunswick dealing with the specific instances. He might have added others to his list. For example, one of the most serious crises of his administration had occurred because it had been impossible to get the advice of his executive council at the time it was needed. As there were not enough portfolios available for all the councillors, it was not worth while for many of them to move to Fredericton. Some departments which would have been held on a political tenure in a larger state could not be so held in New Brunswick because, as Head pointed out, "in a small and economical community, the English system of permanent subordinates in all offices well-paid, is hardly admissible;"¹⁸ and without permanent subordinates some technical departments could obviously not be headed by members of the executive council.

The crux of Head's argument linking these problems of responsible government with confederation may be briefly stated as follows: the British system of parliamentary or responsible government could not function satisfactorily in so small a community as New Brunswick. Nevertheless, the British system was essential for the good government of the province and as an aid in preserving its British connection and preventing its absorption into the United States. Head concluded, therefore, that the only solution lay in uniting some or all of the provinces to form a larger federation in which the difficulties experienced in New Brunswick would no longer exist.

The second major problem which Head believed could be solved by confederation was that caused by the recent reversal of imperial political and economic policies with the acceptance of the principles of responsible government and free trade. Both of these new policies tended to weaken the ties with the Mother Country. Responsible government did so directly by giving the colonial governments a greater degree of independence. The change to free trade broke down the system of imperial preferences that had bound the Empire together. As Head put it: "The cessation of differential duties in favour of the Colonies & the abandonment of what is now called the 'Old Colonial System', however unavoidable & however beneficial . . . necessarily produced one effect—

¹⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 114, Head to Grey, Feb. 10, 1851, enclosure.

that is to say, a diminished sense of unity with the Mother Country."¹⁹

Head did not propose to try to go back and restore that old sense of unity. On the contrary, he stated his firm belief "that the welfare of the Colonies themselves will be much more certainly secured by the abolition of the differential duties & by the sort of self-government they now enjoy than it could have been by a continuance of the former system."²⁰ He did not close his eyes, however, to the danger that the weakening of imperial ties might lead to independence or possibly to annexation. Even in Loyalist New Brunswick these dangers were all too evident during the commercial depression of the late eighteen-forties. Head, although he tried to minimize them, was greatly concerned with these matters, not so much on account of the immediate danger as of the ultimate results of the diminishing sense of imperial unity. He did not think the severance of the colonies' legal tie with Britain inevitable, but it was clearly becoming a possibility that would have to be taken into account. It was for this reason that he again turned to confederation as a step of vital significance. Referring to the British North American colonies, he wrote in 1851: "If they cease to bear allegiance to England then they must be merged in the American Union or they must become independent. That they should maintain their independence singly is hardly conceivable; that they should do so if formed into one compact and United body does not seem absurd especially when the natural and internal sources of division between the north and south of the U.S. are taken into account."²¹ In a private letter written to Lewis shortly before leaving New Brunswick, Head summed up his ideas in this regard as follows:

My views are simple. I believe that Canada will never be annexed to the U.S. if we give her freedom enough, as we now do & foster her own sense of self-importance. The Canadians are beginning to say "We are too great a people to be tied to any body's tail & we are not going to be slave catchers to the United States."

This temper of mind is in my opinion the right one for us to encourage, especially if any sense of *united interest* in all of the British Provinces can be created. Whether Canada belong nominally or not to England is comparatively immaterial.²²

Later in Canada, Head was to become interested in other grounds for advocating confederation as well—such as, for example, the approaching deadlock in internal Canadian politics, the provision of a government for the Hudson's Bay Territory, and the defence of British North America against the growing danger of actual military aggression on the part of the United States. While in New Brunswick, however, he laid major stress on two topics, the difficulty of setting up a parliamentary government in a small community, and the need of finding some colonial source of unity and self-importance to take the place of the dissolving economic and political ties with the Mother Country. These were the issues which caught his attention in local affairs and which gave direction to his views on federal governments generally, and on the confederation of British North America in particular.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 117, Head to Pakington, Dec. 14, 1852.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Head's memorandum of 1851.

²²Lewis Papers, Head to Lewis, Dec. 29, 1853.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Gibson said that during the early part of the nineteenth century the Colonial Office took the stand that there should be one single executive authority for the whole Empire, although the colonial secretary never made any attempt to define the limits of such executive authority. Head was well aware of this. He was also aware of the fact that there were certain practical limitations to the carrying into effect of the Colonial Office ideas. His experience in New Brunswick, which served to guide him later in Canada, gave Head a real appreciation of how far a central imperial executive authority could go. *Mr. Gibson* agreed with *Mr. Kerr* that Head carried from New Brunswick to Canada the idea of a federation of the British North American colonies.

Mr. Kerr said that Head kept in close touch with men like Grey and Merivale, and despite the prevailing idea of a centralized executive, he was anxious to bring about a situation in which the people in the colonies could successfully carry on their own internal government. He was greatly concerned with the problem of establishing a parliamentary system in a province unaccustomed to it and not ready for it.

Mr. Sage directed attention to what he considered to be a curious parallel between the story of Head and that of Anthony Musgrave. Musgrave was firmly convinced that British Columbia, as a separate colony, was not ready for responsible government, but considered that the larger union would offer those opportunities for political experience which would make responsible administration in British Columbia possible. Thus Head and Musgrave both looked upon federation as the best, if not the only way, to secure responsible government in the provincial field.

Mr. Wright said that it was odd that Head should feel that New Brunswick politicians, by entering a larger field of political opportunity, should thereby automatically adopt a larger point of view. It did not follow that the national would replace the provincial point of view: certainly the history of Canada has not borne out this blind optimism. Moreover, if Head had experienced difficulty in finding suitable political leaders while he was lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, how could he hope to find suitable political leaders both for the federal as well as the provincial field merely as a result of the process of federation? *Mr. Wright* felt that there were several blind spots in Head's thinking.

Abbé Maheux, the chairman, referring to *Mr. Gibson's* remark about the absence of any definition of Colonial Office theories, said that he had observed that, in contrast with the French, the English do not define their words and terms of reference.

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEGOTIATIONS FOR CONFEDERATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND WITH CANADA

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THE recent historic decision of Britain's "Oldest Colony" to enter the Canadian federation has naturally revived the interest of historians in the earlier and unsuccessful negotiations for the confederation of Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada. It is the purpose of the present paper to sketch the course of these negotiations and, in particular, to try to explain why Newfoundland rejected union in 1869 and again in 1895.

Newfoundland was not represented at the Charlottetown Conference held in September, 1864, although Sir Hugh Hoyles, her prime minister, had, at the last moment and almost by chance, been invited to attend in an unofficial capacity. At the Quebec Conference, however, she was represented by two delegates, Frederick Carter, speaker of the House of Assembly, and Ambrose Shea, leader of the Opposition. The instructions issued to this bi-partisan delegation emphasized that the delegates had "no authority in any way to bind or pledge either the Government or the Legislature to the proposed Union" and that they were "authorized merely to discuss the subject in its various bearings, with the other delegates, reporting fully to this Government as may be necessary, but reserving to the Newfoundland Legislature the fullest right and power of assenting to, dissenting from, or, if advisable, of proposing modification of any terms that may be proposed. . . ."¹ Moreover, there was a marked inferiority in the political standing of the Newfoundland delegates as compared with those from the other colonies. Neither of Newfoundland's delegates was a minister of the Crown, while every other colonial delegation included the colonial premier and other members of the executive. Indeed, in the case of Canada, all the delegates were members of the executive. It was obvious, quite apart from the restraints imposed by their instructions, that the Newfoundland delegates were politically impotent to commit the Newfoundland government or legislature. Both delegates gave warm personal support to the general proposal of federation. "I like," said Carter in the Conference, "the grandeur and magnitude of the scheme."² In a public address at Montreal, Shea spoke of the project as being "charged with so high a mission of grandeur, whose future it was impossible for the wildest imagination to overestimate."³

Newfoundland was deeply interested in two cardinal questions, namely, the financial terms of union and her representation in the proposed general legislature. With regard to the former, the following offer was made to her: (1) As her public debt was lower per caput than

¹*Journals of Newfoundland House of Assembly*, 1865, app., 848: R. Carter, acting colonial secretary to F. B. T. Carter and A. Shea, Sept. 19, 1864. See also R. A. MacKay (ed.), *Newfoundland: Economic Diplomatic and Strategic Studies* (Toronto, 1946), 418.

²Joseph Pope, *Confederation: Being a Series of hitherto Unpublished Documents* (Toronto, 1895), 60.

³Edward Whelan, *The Union of the British Provinces* (Charlottetown, 1865), 108.

that of Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, she was to receive from the general government the interest at 5 per cent on the difference between her debt at the time of union and the average amount of indebtedness per caput of these three colonies. This item would have amounted to \$115,000 per annum. (2) As her taxing powers, like those of the other provinces-to-be, would be limited to licences and to unpopular direct taxation, she was to be paid an annual subsidy of 80 cents per head of population based on the census of 1861. This was declared to be "in consideration" of the transfer of general powers of taxation to the general legislature and "in full settlement of all future demands" on that body. As Newfoundland's population was assumed to be 130,000, this proposal would have provided her with a revenue of \$104,000. (3) Newfoundland was to receive an additional \$150,000 per annum as compensation for her surrender to the general government of all her rights in mines, minerals, and ungranted and unoccupied Crown Lands. Altogether, she would have received for the purposes of provincial administration an aggregate annual grant of \$369,376 from the general government. Furthermore, the latter, by assuming various departmental and service charges, would have relieved Newfoundland of expenditures amounting to \$160,000 per annum. The estimated costs of government to Newfoundland under the new scheme amounted to only \$250,000. She could therefore expect an annual surplus of \$126,000. No other colony stood to gain such immediate financial advantages.

Under the proposed scheme of representation, Newfoundland would have been entitled to elect seven members to the House of Commons. Shea protested, however, that the latest census of Newfoundland had been taken in 1857 and that her population had grown since then. Accordingly, he proposed eight members, and although the minutes do not indicate that the motion was formally changed, the notes on the discussion show no opposition to his proposal.⁴ The regional plan of representation in the Senate was to be modified so as to give Newfoundland four senators. Under this arrangement, Newfoundland, although allotted fewer members in the Senate in proportion to population than New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island, would have had a representation approximately equivalent to that of Upper Canada or Nova Scotia. With this proposal, the Newfoundland delegates appear to have been in agreement.

When the Newfoundland legislature opened for the session of 1865, Carter and Shea presented a joint report in which they stressed the many advantages of union. In the general election of November, 1865, Carter led the newly-formed confederate party to victory. The new Government, however, was dismayed by the anti-confederate trend in the maritime colonies and decided to adopt a cautious policy of non-commitment despite the pro-confederate exhortations of Governor Musgrave. On March 8, 1866, it set the seal on its fatal policy of inaction by carrying a resolution in the House against an immediate resumption of the confederation discussions.⁵ The approval of confederation by the Assembly of Nova Scotia in the following month failed to move the Carter administration from its attitude of "wait and see." The turn of the tide in favour of confederation in New Brunswick in June came

⁴Pope, *Confederation*, 68.

⁵*Journals of Newfoundland House of Assembly*, 1866, 68.

too late to influence the Newfoundland Legislature, for its session had already closed on May 1, without any clear-cut definition of policy.

Because of the temporizing and vacillation of the Carter Government, Newfoundland was not represented at the decisive London Conference in December, 1866. Governor Musgrave was, however, present at the opening of the first parliament of the new Dominion in November, 1867, and on his return to St. John's he assured the legislature that Canada would accept any reasonable terms that Newfoundland might propose as a condition of entering the union. However, the Government again failed to force the issue and, in the legislative session of 1868, the whole question of confederation was eclipsed by the renewal of the chronic French Shore controversy.

In the session of 1869, however, the confederation issue was vigorously re-opened by the Government. On March 5, the committee of the whole presented a report embodying the terms which Carter proposed to submit to Canada. The report made some new demands on the Dominion in connection with an increased payment for Crown Lands, the encouragement of Newfoundland's fisheries and their protection against discriminatory taxation, the provision of steamship services between Newfoundland, Great Britain, and Canada, and the substitution of a naval reserve for the establishment of a militia service. In the main, however, the terms proposed in the report were identical with those which the Quebec Resolutions had offered to Newfoundland.

Despite bitter criticism by the Opposition leaders, Hoggset, Glen, and Talbot, the Carter Government finally secured the adoption of the report by seventeen votes to seven after a week of heated debate.⁶ The confederation proposals were then submitted to Canada and were accepted with minor amendments. Carter led a delegation to Ottawa and reached complete agreement with the Canadian Government. The Canadian parliament, which had prolonged its session for the purpose, immediately embodied the agreement in an Address to the Queen, praying for Newfoundland's admission to the Dominion under Section 146 of the British North America Act. In fulfilment of its pledge, the Carter Government referred the whole question to the Newfoundland people in the general election held in the fall of 1869. That election was fought exclusively on the confederation issue and the Carter Government was decisively defeated, winning only nine seats to the anti-confederates' twenty.⁷

The overwhelming victory of the anti-confederate party was due, among other factors, to the supreme electioneering skill of Charles Fox Bennett, a born propagandist who had not declared himself on the confederation issue until after the end of the legislative session of 1869. He did not scruple to play on the fears and passions of the more ignorant elements of the electorate. His dynamic personality infused new life into the anti-confederate movement and made it irresistible. The reasons for Newfoundland's rejection of confederation were, however,

⁶MacKay, *Newfoundland*, 435.

⁷G. F. G. Stanley, "Sir Stephen Hill's Observations on the Election of 1869 in Newfoundland" (*Canadian Historical Review*, Sept., 1948, 282), Hill to Granville, Nov. 20, 1869. For a detailed discussion of the election of 1869 see H. B. Mayo, "Newfoundland and Confederation in the Eighteen-Sixties" (*Canadian Historical Review*, June, 1948, 125-42).

deeper than dissatisfaction with the terms offered and wider than the influence of Bennett's unscrupulous propaganda. These reasons may be summarized as follows: (1) The principal markets for Newfoundland's staple exports were in Europe, not North America; there was little trade between Newfoundland and Canada, and what there was consisted almost entirely of imports into Newfoundland, except for Newfoundland fish exported *via* Nova Scotia. Moreover, there was little expectation that confederation would increase the volume of Newfoundland's exports to Canada. Indeed, the increasing commercial ascendancy of the St. John's merchants in the island's trade would be menaced by stiffer competition from the mercantile interests of the mainland. (2) While it is true that Newfoundland would have welcomed improved communications with the mainland, she could not hope that they would enable her to share in the exploitation of the largely untapped resources of half a continent—a prospect which the extension of railway transportation facilities opened up to the mainland provinces. (3) Even the financial terms of union, which were much more generous than those offered to the other provinces, had little attraction for Newfoundland, because her public finances were in a singularly healthy condition at that time. (4) The greater military security which the mainland provinces derived from confederation made no appeal to Newfoundlanders. On the contrary, the argument of defence acted as a boomerang there. Newfoundlanders had no wish to become entangled in Canada's foreign quarrels. France, not the United States, was their only potential enemy at the time. It was to Great Britain rather than to Canada that they looked for diplomatic and, if necessary, naval, support against French pretensions on the Treaty Shore.

The reaction of Colonel Hill, Musgrave's successor as governor of Newfoundland, revealed that the result of the election was a disappointment to the Government of the United Kingdom. Indeed Hill's zeal to bring about confederation had become such an obsession that he even proposed to the Government of Canada that Newfoundland be forcibly incorporated into the Dominion by an act of the imperial parliament. Fortunately, Macdonald refused to countenance this proposal. In a letter to the governor-general, Macdonald declared "it would never do to adopt Colonel Hill's suggestion. . . . There can be no doubt of the power to do so, but the exercise of it would seem to me very unadvisable. We have had an infinity of trouble with Nova Scotia, although both the Government and the Legislature agreed to the union, because the question was not submitted to the electors. We have, at a large cost, settled that difficulty. The case would be much worse in Newfoundland, where there was a dissolution, and an appeal to the people for the express purpose of getting their deliberate opinion for or against the union. They have decided for the present against it, and I think we should accept their decision."⁸

It was not until 1895 that the confederation question was again seriously raised in Newfoundland. In that year, Newfoundland's financial position was very different from what it had been in 1869. Newfoundland, which had not fully recovered from the effect of the St. John's fire of 1892, was almost completely engulfed by a disastrous

⁸Joseph Pope, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald* (2 vols., Ottawa, 1894), Macdonald to the governor-general, Dec. 8, 1869.

financial crisis precipitated by the bank crash of December, 1894.⁹ The crisis was all the more serious because one of the banks involved—the Union Bank—acted as the financial agent of the Newfoundland Government. Indeed, arrangements had been made with that bank to provide the half-yearly interest (about \$225,000) on the public debt payable in London on January 1, 1895. The Newfoundland Government was confronted with the impossibility of meeting this interest payment unaided. The Government of the United Kingdom refused to give any financial assistance—apart from a small grant to relieve immediate distress—unless the Newfoundland Government accepted the appointment of a royal commission of enquiry with power to make constitutional as well as financial recommendations.¹⁰ Sir William Whiteway, Newfoundland's prime minister, declined this condition as he feared that the commission would report in favour of the abolition of responsible government and a reversion to colonial status.¹¹

Having exhausted every other possible resource, the Whiteway Government reluctantly turned to confederation as a last expedient. The Canadian Government welcomed Whiteway's proposal for a resumption of negotiations. The conference opened at Ottawa on April 4 and lasted until April 16. The Canadian delegates were the prime minister, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Sir Adolphe Caron, George E. Foster, and John Haggart. Newfoundland was represented by the colonial secretary, Robert Bond, E. P. Morris, George Emerson, and William Horwood.

The most serious stumbling-blocks were debts and subsidies. With regard to the former, Newfoundland proposed that Canada assume the island's debt to the extent of \$50.00 per caput (approximately the per caput debt of the Dominion at that time), and that Canada pay interest at 5 per cent per annum on the amount by which Newfoundland's debt was less than the allowed total of \$50.00 per caput, as had been done in the case of each province whose debt allowance exceeded its debt. Unfortunately, differences arose over the amount of the island's debt. The funded and floating debt amounted to \$11,247,534, and contractual obligations with respect to the railway (grants for construction and capitalized subsidies for operations) amounted to \$4,582,300, making an aggregate of actual debts and commitments of \$15,829,834. It was contended by the Newfoundland delegates, however, that the railway represented an asset, and that the costs of railway construction, amounting to \$9,553,000, should therefore be deducted from the gross debt. This proposal would have left Newfoundland with a net debt of only \$6,276,534, which would have been less than the debt allowance of \$50.00 per caput by \$4,073,466. On this last amount, Newfoundland claimed, she should be paid 5 per cent interest yearly. Canada refused to assume the aggregate debt and obligations of \$15,829,834, but offered to take over the debt to the extent of \$10,350,000 (approximately \$50.00 per caput) and in addition to pay to Newfoundland interest at 5 per cent on \$2,000,000.

In the matter of subsidies, the Newfoundland delegation followed the precedent of the Quebec Conference of 1864 in proposing to vest her

⁹D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (2nd ed., London, 1896), II, 145-6.

¹⁰See *United Kingdom Parliamentary Papers*, H. C. 104, Mar., 1895, no. 13.

¹¹*Ibid.*, nos. 16 and 21-3. See also *Journals of Newfoundland House of Assembly*, 1894-5, 126.

Crown Lands in the Dominion in return for special subsidies. The sums proposed were \$150,000 annually for the Crown Lands in Newfoundland proper, and another \$100,000 for the Crown Lands in Labrador, an item which had been overlooked in the earlier negotiations. In addition, the Newfoundland delegates requested the subsidy customarily paid to the provinces of 80 cents per caput, and a "lump sum" subsidy of \$50,000 for the upkeep of government and legislation. Finally, a specific request was made for a further subsidy of \$150,000 annually as a bounty for Newfoundland fishermen "to offset in part the great loss to the Colony from foregoing the Bond-Blaine Convention" which Canada had successfully opposed. Canada accepted all these proposals except the obligation to pay \$100,000 annually for the Crown Lands in Labrador and the commitment to pay the fisheries bounty of \$150,000 per annum. Altogether, the annual subsidies offered by Canada, including the 5 per cent interest on the \$2,000,000 excess debt, totalled \$465,000.

Confronted with this offer, the Newfoundland delegates paved down their budget estimates for "provincial" services from the original sum of \$738,594 to \$650,000. Even so, Newfoundland was faced with a prospective deficit of almost \$200,000 per annum, quite apart from the cost of servicing a residuary debt of over \$5 million. The Newfoundland delegates pointed out that the dual obligation of meeting the deficit on ordinary provincial expenditure and of shouldering the burden of the residuary debt was a task far beyond the island's resources. As the Canadian delegates were not prepared to improve their offer, the Conference was abandoned on April 16.¹²

An appeal was made by the Canadian Government to Great Britain to bridge the gap between Newfoundland's needs and Canada's offer.¹³ The Canadian memorandum to the British Government concluded by stating that all that was required of the United Kingdom was to provide £1 million to extinguish the residuary debt, as Newfoundland had found that she could just manage, by rigid economy and higher taxation, to finance her ordinary provincial expenditure on the allowance of \$465,000, provided she did not have to meet any debt charges. This appeal to London was unavailing.¹⁴ The Canadian Government then made a last but unsuccessful gesture. It offered to supplement its previous proposals by a subsidy of \$6,000 per mile to assist in the extension of Newfoundland's railway from the Exploits River to Port aux Basques, and by an addition of \$35,000 to the annual allowance for provincial administration.¹⁵ Newfoundland was obliged to reject this inadequate offer.

Thus the opportunity to round-out the Dominion in the east was lost for the sake of a paltry \$5 million. At the eleventh hour Newfoundland was saved from default by the personal efforts of Bond,¹⁶ but for a

¹²For the report of the Ottawa Conference see *Journals of Newfoundland House of Assembly*, 1894-5, App., 373-422.

¹³*Ibid.*, 423, Aberdeen to Ripon, Apr. 16, 1895. This letter and other documents relating to the 1895 negotiations will be found in G. F. G. Stanley, "Further Documents Relating to the Union of Newfoundland and Canada 1886-1895" (*Canadian Historical Review*, Dec., 1948, 370-86).

¹⁴*Journals of Newfoundland House of Assembly*, 1894-5, 432, Ripon to Aberdeen, May 9, 1895, enclosed in Melville to Whiteway, May 22, 1895.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 422, Bowell to Whiteway, May 11, 1895.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, July 4, 1895, 126.

generation, Newfoundlanders could neither forgive nor forget the seeming indifference of the Canadian Government to the fate of the island.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Stanley said that he was struck by the contrast between the attitude towards union of the commercial class of St. John's in 1869 and that in 1948. In the earlier period the Water Street merchants were, for the most part, the strongest supporters of union. Charles Fox Bennett was looked upon as a traitor to his class. In 1948 the chief support for union came from the people of the outports who had previously opposed it; and the chief opposition to union came from the mercantile class which had previously supported it. *Mr. Stanley* asked *Mr. Fraser* to comment upon the attitude of the Irish element in Newfoundland to confederation. *Mr. Stanley* said that Sir William Whiteway's approaches to Canada in 1895 were received with studied coolness by Sir Mackenzie Bowell because the Newfoundland leader had prefaced his overtures with a request for loans totalling \$550,000 and for Bowell's intercession with the imperial government to obtain the assent of the governor of Newfoundland to a colonial bill removing the disabilities of members unseated during 1894 for alleged corrupt practices.

Mr. Fraser said that the Irish had always been strongly anti-confederate. Charles Fox Bennett had made great political capital of the unpopular Anglo-Irish Union of 1800 and had played with success upon Irish animosities towards England. *Mr. Fraser* said that Bowell's non-committal replies to Sir William Whiteway probably explain why the Newfoundland delegation which went to Ottawa in 1895 was headed by Sir Robert Bond and not by the premier, Whiteway. He agreed with *Mr. Stanley*'s remarks about the attitude of the mercantile class towards union. He added that a small number of merchants, after giving their support to the continuation of the Commission Government during the first plebiscite in 1948, had cast their lot with the Confederates during the second.

Mr. Wright asked whether in any of the confederation negotiations the question of the division of legislative powers had arisen?

Mr. Fraser said that he had found no evidence that the division of legislative powers had ever been an issue in the negotiations during the nineteenth century. Although there was a thoroughly searching analysis of the extent of the taxing powers in the debate in the Assembly prior to the election of 1869, neither party took issue upon the question of federal and provincial rights.

Mr. Longley said that in the Maritime Provinces the opposition to confederation had come from the parties usually referred to as Reform or Liberal: yet in the case of Newfoundland in 1948 it was the Liberal party which had finally succeeded in bringing Newfoundland into the Canadian union.

Mr. Sage asked the speaker if he could explain how party lines were originally drawn in Newfoundland and when political parties as such developed.

Mr. Fraser said that party names were not very significant in Newfoundland and that personalities and personal allegiance determined party lines during the greater part of Newfoundland's history as a separate colony. Confederation was the one great divisive issue in

Newfoundland politics. The fact that in 1949 the Confederate party took the name Liberal was largely because the Liberal party was in power in Ottawa and because that party had co-operated with the Confederates in bringing about union. Under these circumstances the Anti-Confederates became, willy nilly, Progressive Conservatives simply as opponents of the Liberals (Confederates).

In reply to Mr. Sage, *Mr. Fraser* said that party divisions might be traced back to the pre-responsible government days, to the conflict between the elected and the appointed representatives in the colonial legislature; but that following the introduction of responsible government there were no clear cut political issues except that of union with Canada. Political philosophies were always subordinate to political personalities as determining factors in Newfoundland party politics.

Mr. Gibson asked whether the Colonial Office had been actively interested in the union negotiations between 1864 and 1869 and whether Downing Street had brought pressure to bear upon the government of the island as it had in the cases of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia?

Mr. Fraser said that the attitude of the Colonial Office, judging from the public pronouncements of Lieutenant-Governors Musgrave and Hill, indicated a strong official sympathy for confederation. Such imperial pressure as was brought to bear upon Newfoundland was exerted through the two governors in question.

Abbé Maheux expressed the hope that the people of Newfoundland would take an interest in the work of the learned societies of Canada and that they would be duly represented at the meetings to be held by the Canadian Historical Association and other societies in the future.

LA PLUS VIEILLE MAISON DU CANADA

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LE 22 mai dernier, dans l'anse de Sillery, à quatre milles en amont de Québec, M. le vice-consul de France, M. Paul del Perugia, présidait à l'inauguration officielle de la Vieille Maison des Jésuites, définitivement transformée en musée. Classée comme monument historique depuis 1924, alors que M. Pierre-Georges Roy, de la Société Royale du Canada, le créateur de nos archives provinciales, en obtenait la donation au gouvernement de Québec, la Vieille Maison des Jésuites de Sillery, redevenue propriété privée en 1946, s'entendait périodiquement, depuis lors, menacer de démolition. Ému dans son amour profond des vieilles choses, M. Roland Gagné, de Pointe-au-Pic, comté de Charlevoix, l'acquit en 1948, et après un an de réparations, d'aménagement . . . et de dépenses, il réalise aujourd'hui le voeu des donateurs de 1924: ". . . that the said building be used as a museum of historical mementos pertaining to or of interest to the Dominion of Canada, the Province of Quebec, or to persons who have lived in the said Province."¹

En ce temps d'exploitation touristique effrénée, le public a raison de se défier des prétendues résurrections et il est justifié de poser à M. Gagné, au sujet de la vieille maison de Sillery, les trois questions suivantes: (1) A quel fait cette maison doit-elle d'avoir été classée comme un monument historique? (2) Cette maison est-elle l'authentique maison de 1637? (3) Est-elle vraiment, selon l'expression du dépliant publicitaire, "la plus vieille maison du Canada"? C'est à l'histoire qu'il appartient de répondre à ces trois questions.

I

Le traité de Saint-Germain-en-Laye avait, le 29 mars 1632, rendu à la France ses possessions d'Amérique. Le 5 juillet suivant, sur le vaisseau qui ramenait à Québec Emery de Caen, chef provisoire de la colonie, trois Jésuites avaient trouvé place: le P. Paul Le Jeune, le P. Anne de Nouë, le Frère coadjuteur Gilbert Burel. Brébeuf et Massé, deux vétérans d'avant les Kirke, arrivèrent en 1633; quatre autres les rejoignirent l'année suivante; en 1637 la mission comptait vingt-trois prêtres et six coadjuteurs.² Ils avaient pour supérieur le P. Paul Le Jeune, esprit brillant, méthodique, observateur sagace, écrivain pétillant, auquel nous devons les meilleures Relations.

Mais ni le P. Le Jeune, ni ses confrères n'étaient venus au Canada comme chroniqueurs: ils avaient été envoyés comme missionnaires. Une fois organisée, à Notre-Dame-de-Recouvrance, la vie religieuse des traiteurs et des colons français, le P. Le Jeune tourna les yeux vers la masse pitoyable des Indiens. Ils étaient de deux catégories: les sédentaires et les nomades. Instruit par l'expérience d'une pénible hivernement en forêt avec un parti de Montagnais, le P. Le Jeune détermina ainsi son plan d'évangélisation:

¹Donation by the estate of Hon. R. R. Dobell to La Commission des Monuments Historiques, Nov. 14, 1924, Greffe du Notaire Yves Montreuil, Québec, P.Q., no. 4, 820.

²Camille de Rochefonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle* (3 vols., Paris, 1895), vol. I, chap. III.

Aux tribus sédendaires, prometteuses d'une riche moisson, il enverrait volontiers de nombreux ouvriers.³ Et, de fait, dès le mois d'août 1634, les R. P. de Brébeuf, Davost et Daniel montaient en Huronie.

Le cas des romades était différent: "Il me semble," écrit le P. Le Jeune, "qu'on ne doit pas espérer grand'chose des Sauvages tant qu'ils seront errants: vous les instruisez aujourd'hui; demain, la faim vous enlevera vos auditeurs, les contraignant d'aller chercher leur vie dans les fleuves et dans les bois. . . . De les vouloir suivre, il faudrait autant de religieux qu'ils sont de cabanes . . . [D'ailleurs] je ne crois pas que, de cent religieux, il y en ait dix qui puissent résister aux travaux qu'il faut endurer à leur suite. . . . Ces raisons et beaucoup d'autres . . . me font croire qu'on travaillera beaucoup et qu'on avancera fort peu si on n'arrête [si on ne rend sédentaires] ces barbares. . . . Or avec le secours de quelques ouvriers de bon travail, il serait aisément d'arrêter [ainsi] quelques familles, vu que quelques-uns m'en ont déjà parlé: . . . [ils] s'accoutumeraient d'eux-mêmes petit à petit à tirer quelque chose de la terre."⁴

L'idée de grouper les nomades en une chrétienté agricole près de Québec était magnifique: elle s'inspirait des fameuses réductions du Paraguay. Mais la réalisation de cette entreprise coûteuse ne serait possible qu'avec le concours d'un puissant de la terre. C'est d'ailleurs le rôle providentiel de la richesse que de servir les fins miséricordieuses de Dieu. Celui "qui veut le salut de tous les hommes et leur venue à la connaissance de la vérité"⁵ mit sous les yeux de Noël Brûlart de Sillery la Relation du P. Le Jeune et lui parla au cœur.

Noël Brûlart de Sillery (1577-1640) était un grand de la Cour de France, au temps de Henri IV et de Louis XIII. Commandeur de l'Ordre de Malte, ambassadeur à Madrid, puis à Rome, il avait obtenu pour Richelieu le chapeau de cardinal. Enveloppé dans la disgrâce de son frère, le chancelier, et de son neveu, le secrétaire d'État, qui s'étaient opposés à l'entrée de Richelieu au Conseil Royal, l'humiliation lui valut de peser à leur juste valeur les succès de ce monde. Le jubilé de 1625, avec ses grâces abondantes, acheva l'œuvre purificatrice. Sous la direction de Saint Vincent de Paul,—"Monsieur Vincent"—il se mit à l'école de la perfection. Pour lui, la sainteté prit la forme du détachement et des libéralités. Son hôtel somptueux, à Paris, devint la propriété du Cardinal; son mobilier, vendu, se mua en aumônes; lui-même vint habiter une maison des Visitandines, ajouta à leur couvent un grand corps de logis et fit bâtir une chapelle spacieuse, dont il posa la première pierre. Ainsi se vérifiait la parole qu'il avait dite à sa soeur, Madame de Trélon, surprise du changement: "Ma soeur, je n'ai fait que tourner la médaille, c'est-à-dire faire et employer pour Dieu ce que je faisais pour le monde et la vanité." Notre-Seigneur, auteur et témoin de cette docilité à la grâce, la récompensa en appelant le commandeur au sacerdoce. En 1632, Noël Brûlart de Sillery revêtait l'habit ecclésiastique; en 1634, il devenait prêtre; il avait cinquante-sept ans.⁶

Le Commandeur de Sillery avait, dès le début, fait partie de la Compagnie des Cent-Associés, chargée des intérêts tant spirituels que

³*Ibid.*, chap. IV.

⁴A. Côté (éd.), *Relations des Jésuites* (3 vols., Québec, 1858), I, *Relations*, 1634, 11.

⁵1^{re} Épître à Timothée, chap. II, v. 4.

⁶Chanoine H.-A. Scott, *Une Paroisse historique de la Nouvelle-France: Notre-Dame de Sainte-Foy* (Québec, 1902), vol. I, chap. V, *passim*.

temporels de la Nouvelle-France. Son nouvel état de vie le rendait encore plus sensible aux désirs de l'apostolique Père Le Jeune. Il résolut de le seconder de quelque façon, en lui fournissant immédiatement douze mille livres tournois (environ \$10,000) et quelques ouvriers.⁷ De son côté, le commis-général de la Compagnie à Québec, François Derré de Gand, possédait, sur le Saint-Laurent, à quatre milles en amont, une anse de trente arpents, entre la Pointe-de-Puiseaux et la pointe Saint-Joseph, plus cent arpents sur la falaise. Le P. Le Jeune obtint d'y établir la fondation de M. de Sillery.⁸ En l'honneur du premier patron du Canada, choisi par les Récollets en 1624, le P. Le Jeune consacra l'oeuvre à Saint-Joseph.

Le dessein de M. de Sillery se limitait encore, à ce moment-là, à la fondation d'une école pour l'éducation des petites filles sauvages mêlées aux petites françaises.⁹ En 1638, sur une requête du P. Le Jeune, il modifie son plan, accepte de subvenir au soutien d'une réduction et, le 22 février 1639, par contrat, il fait don à la résidence de Saint-Joseph d'un capital de vingt mille livres (\$16,000).

Les termes de la donation sont les suivants: (1) Elle est "à l'honneur et gloire de la très Sainte Trinité, du Père qui a choisi la Vierge pour donner à son Fils une seconde vie, du Fils qui l'a reçue pour sa mère, et du Saint-Esprit qui a opéré en elle l'oeuvre adorable de l'Incarnation; et en l'honneur de cette même Vierge qui a toujours été sans tache et sans défaut, et en mémoire et action de grâce des miracles de sainteté opérés en elle, et aussi en reconnaissance des grâces qu'il [le donateur] a reçues de Dieu par son moyen." (2) Elle oblige à une messe quotidienne en l'honneur de la Sainte Vierge. (3) Le donateur s'engage à payer annuellement une rente de quinze cents livres (\$1,200); à sa mort, les Pères entreront en possession du capital de vingt mille livres, dont les revenus serviront d'abord à la construction d'une église en l'honneur de la Vierge, puis au soutien de la mission.¹⁰

Le cadeau était d'importance: il assurait à l'établissement sa survie. Le nom du fondateur méritait de passer à l'histoire: la mission Saint-Joseph s'appela Saint-Joseph de Sillery. Et aujourd'hui encore, dans la progressive cité qui a remplacé la mission, la Vieille Maison des Jésuites perpétue le souvenir d'un geste sublime à portée éternelle.

II

Mais, au fait, l'édifice que vient de restaurer M. Roland Gagné est-il vraiment celui qu'érigèrent les Jésuites en 1637, grâce au don de M. de Sillery?

L'histoire de la Vieille Maison des Jésuites se partage en trois périodes. La première va de 1637 à 1698: Sillery est une mission, mission algonquine et montagnaise jusqu'en 1670, mission abénakise jusqu'en 1698. La seconde couvre tout le XVIII^e siècle: rattaché, du point de vue canonique, à la nouvelle paroisse de Notre-Dame de Foy, Sillery devient un domaine, que les Jésuites afferment à des particuliers. La troisième s'étend de 1800 à nos jours: les Jésuites ont disparu; leurs biens, accaparés par l'État, sont administrés par une commission gouvernementale;

⁷Ibid., 73.

⁸Ibid., 74-6; *Relations*, 1638, 17.

⁹Scott, *Une Paroisse historique*, 68-9.

¹⁰Ibid., 477 et suivantes.

le domaine de Sillery subit les vicissitudes ordinaires et extraordinaires des propriétés: il est loué, sous-loué, vendu, donné, repris, revendu.

Au cours de ces trois périodes, pouvons-nous sans discontinuité reconnaître l'identité de la Vieille Maison des Jésuites?

Il existe sur la première période un document irrécusable et inépuisable: c'est le registre de la mission, conservé à l'archevêché de Québec. Il a pour titre: *Liber Baptizatorum a Patribus Societatis Jesu in residentia seu reductione Sancti Josephi vulgo Sillery*. Complété par les Relations, le Journal, les catalogues annuels, les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu, la correspondance de Marie de l'Incarnation, ce registre constitue la source principale de nos renseignements sur la mission et, incidemment, sur la maison de Sillery.¹¹

“*Jacta sunt fundamenta domus die julii 1637*,” dit la page liminaire du registre. “Les fondations de la maison ont été commencées, un jour [non indiqué] de juillet 1637, et le 14 avril 1638, deux Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus s'y sont transportés pour l'habiter et pour instruire deux familles de Sauvages qui y avaient fixé leur séjour.”

Ce texte capital est de la main du P. Jean de Quen, l'un de ces “deux pères,” l'autre étant le P. Le Jeune, comme l'indique une note marginale du même P. de Quen.

S'agit-il déjà d'une maison en pierre? Le mot “fundamenta-fondations,” n'est pas probant par lui-même, bien qu'il soit un indice. En voici d'autres: la maison est évidemment spacieuse puisque, outre les vingt personnes—hommes, femmes et enfants—qui occupent à l'aise une seule pièce,¹² les Pères y habitent aussi séparément, qu'ils y célèbrent la messe et font des prières publiques.¹³ Le P. Le Jeune compare les deux premières familles sédentaires aux premières pierres de l'édifice spirituel qu'évoque à ses yeux l'édifice matériel qu'elles habitent. Le rapprochement s'imposait davantage si la maison était de pierre. De fait, elle l'était: Marie de l'Incarnation nous le dit explicitement. Le 26 août 1644, elle écrit à son fils, Dom Claude Martin: “Pour répondre à ce que vous désirez savoir touchant le pays, je vous dirai, mon très cher fils, qu'il y a des maisons de pierres, de bois et d'écorces. La nôtre est toute de pierres. . . . Le Fort est de pierres et les maisons qui en dépendent. Celles des Révérends Pères, de Madame notre fondatrice, des Mères Hospitalières et des Sauvages sédentaires, de pierres. . . .”¹⁴

Le 13 juin 1657 fut pour la mission une triste journée: “A deux heures de la relevée [i.e. de l'après-midi],” lit-on dans le *Journal*, “la maison de Sillery, la chapelle et tous les bâtiments furent réduits en cendres par le feu, qui prit par la cheminée et que le vent porta partout.” Nous voilà bien attrapés. Tout a brûlé en 1657, tout a été réduit en cendres: la vieille maison des Jésuites de 1649 n'est donc pas celle de 1637. Voyons-y de plus près. Que le bois ait bel et bien brûlé, par un fort vent, soit; mais pas la pierre, pas le mortier solide du XVII^e siècle! Et quand on décida de tout reconstruire en 1660, on le fit sur les mêmes murs. Cela suffit pour qu'on puisse réaffirmer l'identité de l'édifice.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 90 n.

¹²*Relations*, 1638, 19.

¹³*Ibid.*, 1639, 19.

¹⁴*Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline de Tours: Fondatrice des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France: Écrits spirituels et historiques*, publiés par Dom Claude Martin, réédités par Dom Albert Jamet (Québec, 1935), vol. III, lettre CVII, p. 370.

Trois documents officiels—entre autres—nous permettent de suivre la maison de Sillery au cours du XVII^e siècle.

“L’aveu et dénombrement” de 1733 décrit avec précision les quatre bâtiments qui existent alors sur le domaine: “Il y a de construit en pierre une maison de quarante-sept pieds de long sur vingt-six pieds de large, une chapelle érigée sous le titre de Saint-Michel aussi construite en pierre de quarante-six pieds de long sur vingt-quatre pieds de large, une autre maison pour le fermier de quarante-trois pieds de long sur seize pieds de large, avec une écurie, étable et grange sous le même toit de quarante pieds de long sur vingt-deux pieds de large, moitié construite en pierre et l’autre moitié de charpente, jardin cour et verger, trente arpents de terre labourable et dix arpents de prairie.”¹⁵

Après la conquête, les Jésuites restèrent provisoirement en possession de leurs biens.¹⁶ Le 20 juin 1763, le Supérieur, le P. Augustin Louis de Glapion, afferme et loue pour sept ans au sieur John Taylor Bondfield, négociant de Québec, “le domaine de Sillery dans toute son étendue, en y comprenant les droits de pesches et de chasse ainsi que reste de bâtimens, avec les vergers, prairies, terres labourables, terres en bois, anses et grèves.”¹⁷ M. Bondfield pouvait, au bout de sept ans, renouveler son bail. Il fit plus: le 13 juin 1774, on convint de part et d’autre de considérer l’engagement, un peu modifié, valable jusqu’en 1784.¹⁸ Aussi dans “L’aveu et dénombrement” du 12 décembre 1781, le P. Jean-Joseph Casot, procureur des Missions des Jésuites au Canada, déclare-t-il que la seigneurie de Sillery comprend “un Domaine contenant cent arpents en superficie affermé au Sieur Jean Bondfield, et une Eglise et presbytère sur un terrain de quatre arpens en superficie à l’usage du curé.”¹⁹

La maison de quarante-sept pieds par vingt-six, dans l’aveu de 1733, est un des “restes de bâtimens” loués à John Taylor Bondfield en 1763; c’est le “presbytère . . . à l’usage du curé” (de Sainte-Foy), dans l’aveu de 1781; c’est la Maison des Jésuites.

A la mort du dernier d’entre eux, le P. Casot, qui décéda le 16 mars 1800, la Couronne s’empara de tous leurs biens. Une commission spéciale fut nommée pour les administrer: La Commission des Biens des Jésuites. C’est en glanant ici et là dans les rapports de cette commission, dans les journaux et bouquins de l’époque, dans les actes notariés, que nous apprendrons ce qu’il advint, de la vieille Maison des Jésuites, à partir de 1800.

Dans sa *Description topographique de la Province de Bas-Canada*, publiée à Londres en 1815, l’arpenteur Joseph Bouchette écrit:

A l’endroit appelé la crique de Sillery, il y a une plantation de Houblon. . . . Tout près de la plantation se trouvent un bâtiment pour la drèche, une brasserie et un logis, outre plusieurs dépendances,

¹⁵Archives de la Province de Québec, Aveux et Dénombrements, Régime français, vol. II, Déclaration no. 241, fol. 411. Le pied français (dit pied de roi) valait 1.10675 du pied anglais.

¹⁶Archives publiques du Canada, Documents constitutionnels, 1907, no. 18, Instructions au gouverneur Carleton, 3 janvier 1775, art. 21, douzièmement.

¹⁷Bail par-devant Moreau, notaire royal, dont l’original est conservé aux Archives de la Province de Québec, parmi les Papiers des Jésuites non encore classés.

¹⁸Acte collationné au bail précédent par D. Gonnierre, greffier.

¹⁹Archives de la Province de Québec, Aveux et Dénombrements, Régime anglais, vol. I, pp. 194-6.

qui appartiennent à M. Hullet, propriétaire de la houblonnière; les deux premiers bâtiments méritent quelque respect, en ce que ce sont les vénérables restes d'une ancienne chapelle et de quelques autres bâtiments, élevés en 1637 par les Jésuites, pour servir de résidence à une mission occupée de leur entreprise favorite, la conversion des naturels du pays au Christianisme; ces vestiges d'un pieux zèle ont été pour un temps préservés d'une ruine totale, en ce que depuis quelques années, ils ont été réparés et appropriés à leur usage actuel.²⁰

En plus de refléter l'opinion contemporaine sur l'origine des "vénérables bâtiments" de l'anse de Sillery, le texte de Bouchette nous met sur la piste des occupants successifs de ces bâtiments.

C'est en 1805 que William Hullett, natif d'Herefordshire (Angleterre), avait loué, pour quinze ans, l'anse de Sillery "between Pointe à Pizeau and his House."²¹ Mais déjà en juillet 1802 il y cultivait le houblon.²² "His house—sa maison" est indiquée à l'endroit de l'actuelle maison des Jésuites sur un plan de 1814.²³

Hullett mourut à Bath (Angleterre), le 8 décembre 1815.²⁴ En mai 1816, Robert Wood prend charge des terrains loués par Hullett.²⁵ Puis Madame Hullett (Lucy Cuvillier) annonce que la brasserie est à sous-louer, comprenant trois édifices: "Dwelling-house, brew-house and malt-house."²⁶

Dans quel état étaient ces bâtiments? George Heriot, deputy post-master general of British North America, avait visité le Canada en 1806. L'année suivante, il publia à Londres un récit détaillé de son voyage. Voici ce qu'il avait vu à Sillery:

At Sillery, a league from Quebec, on the north shore, are the ruins of an establishment, which was begun in 1637; intended as a religious institution for the conversion and instruction of natives of the country, it was at one time inhabited by twelve French families. The buildings are placed upon level ground, sheltered by steep banks, and close by the borders of the river. They now consist only of two old stone-houses fallen to decay and of the remains of a small chapel. . . . The chapel has of late been repaired and fitted up for a malt house and some of the other buildings have been converted into a brewery.²⁷

En 1820, date de l'expiration du bail, George William Usborne succéda à Hullett; la nouvelle location était pour neuf ans. Usborne fit faire de grosses réparations pour une somme de £168.7.6, soit plus de \$600. Ces réparations furent exécutées "to the House built in Stone," "to your stone house in this Cove," "on the Stone House situated in Sillery Cove, by permission of the Commissioner of Jesuits Estate."²⁸

²⁰P. 419.

²¹Papiers des Jésuites.

²²Gazette de Québec. Hullett promet 10 livres de récompense pour trouver les malfaiteurs qui ont coupé plus de 400 vignes de houblon, à Sillery.

²³Plan dressé par Joseph Bouchette, A.C., 12 janvier 1814, conservé aux archives des Terres et Forêts, Province de Québec.

²⁴Quebec Mercury, 2 avril 1816.

²⁵Ibid., mai 1816.

²⁶Ibid., supplément, 10 février 1819.

²⁷George Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas, Containing a Description of the Picturesque Scenery on Some of the Rivers and Lakes* (London, 1807), 99.

²⁸Papiers des Jésuites.

Usborne ne fit pas fortune, car dès 1822 Peter Patterson le remplaçait. Une nouvelle ère venait de s'ouvrir pour l'anse de Sillery: par suite du blocus continental européen, grâce auquel Napoléon Ier espérait épuiser l'Angleterre, celle-ci avait commencé de venir chercher au Canada le bois nécessaire à sa marine. Partis des rivières Richelieu et Gatineau, les radeaux abordaient dans les anses voisines de Québec. Au printemps de 1824, Peter Patterson avait demandé aux Commissaires des Biens des Jésuites la permission d'utiliser les vieux murs de pierre de la chapelle pour la construction d'un quai. L'agent, un M. Foy, après avoir visité les lieux, donna un avis favorable, et le motif qu'il apporta nous renseigne sur le site de la maison, par rapport à la chapelle: "The removal of the Ruins of the Old Chapel . . . would be of real advantage, the removal of the adjoining wooden shed would likewise be a greater security from accident by fire, it being placed too near the Dwelling house to be used as a deposit for Hay."²⁹ Or les pierres de base des murs de la vieille chapelle sont encore visibles aujourd'hui à une trentaine de pieds de la vieille maison des Jésuites: celle-ci est donc la Dwelling-House de 1806, de 1820, et de 1824.

On peut en apporter encore une autre preuve. En 1835 et 1836, le gouvernement faisait enquête sur les améliorations pouvant majorer la valeur des propriétés de l'anse. Le 5 février 1836, Charles A. Holt, écuyer, est interrogé: "L'eau venait-elle jusqu'au pied du Cap, avant qu'on y eut fait des améliorations, ou de quelle grandeur était la grève à haute marée?" M. Holt répond: "L'eau ne venait pas au pied du Cap, . . . vu qu'il y a encore une vieille maison de pierre bâtie par les Jésuites, qui est encore à un demi-acre du pied du Cap, et l'on voyait, il y a quelques années, les ruines d'autres vieux bâtiments, qui étaient encore plus éloignés du pied du cap." Le rapport de l'enquête décrit plus loin l'édifice comme une "maison en pierre à deux étages"; "un vieux bâtiment appartenant aux Jésuites," auquel on a fait subir des "améliorations avant 1829."³⁰

Résumons l'histoire des derniers cent ans: James et John Jeffrey devinrent locataires de l'anse en 1836. Ils obtenaient un bail de sept ans, mais, dès 1839, ils étaient remplacés par Charles Campbell & Company, c'est-à-dire Charles Campbell et Henry Le Mesurier. En 1846, celui-ci continuait seul l'exploitation du bois. Son chantier devint le plus important de Sillery. En 1853, de locataire Le Mesurier devint propriétaire, ayant acheté, cette fois, du gouvernement cinquante-quatre arpents: l'anse prit le nom de Le Mesurier Cove. Henry Le Mesurier dirigea le chantier jusqu'en 1860; puis il le loua à Richard Reid Dobell. Le beau-frère de Dobell, et son associé, Thomas Beckett, fit de la vieille maison des Jésuites sa résidence et l'on installa dans la maison voisine les bureaux de la compagnie. L'Honorable Richard Reid Dobell—devenu ministre dans le cabinet Laurier—acheta en 1896 les terrains de Le Mesurier. Il mourut en Angleterre en 1902. Grâce à l'entremise de M. Pierre-Georges Roy, la succession, en 1924, fit don à la Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Québec, sous certaines conditions, de la vieille maison tricentenaire. En 1946, toutes les propriétés des Dobell dans l'anse de Sillery étaient achetées par l'agent

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰Procès-verbaux des Délibérations de l'Assemblée Législative de Québec, 1835-6.

d'immeubles L.-P.-R. Thibodeau; celui-ci, ayant par la suite recouvré la maison, la revendit, en 1948, à M. Roland Gagné, de Pointe-au-Pic, qui l'a restaurée de fond en comble et convertie en un intéressant musée.³¹

III

La maison des Jésuites de Sillery est-elle la plus vieille maison du Canada?

Le Manoir Mauvide, à Saint-Jean de l'Île d'Orléans, qui porte la marque des boulets de l'amiral Saunders, remonte au plus à 1734;³² le Château Ramesay, à Montréal, date de 1704; le moulin de Mgr de Laval, à Château-Richer, fut construit en 1691; la maison Jollet au pied de l'Ascenseur, à Québec, fut commencée en 1683;³³ l'aile dite de la procure, la plus ancienne partie du Séminaire de Québec, est de 1678, de même que la maison LaRue, à Saint-Jean de l'Île; le manoir de Pierre Boucher, à Boucherville, fut bâti en 1668 et le moulin banal de Sainte-Famille, en 1666.³⁴ La seule maison, à part de Sillery, pour laquelle, à ma connaissance, on a revendiqué publiquement l'honneur d'être "la plus ancienne," c'est le moulin seigneurial du Cap de la Madeleine, qu'on dit avoir été construit en 1651, par les Jésuites.³⁵ Pour affirmer que ce moulin,—à supposer qu'il ait vraiment été bâti à cette date,—est la plus ancienne maison existante, on se prévaut sans doute du feu qui, en 1657, "réduisit en cendres" les édifices de Sillery. Mais, loyalement et sans rien outrer, une maison reconstruite sur des murs datant de 1637 sera inévitablement jugée plus ancienne, avec les siècles, que celle dont la construction a commencé en 1651.

Si ce titre de "la plus vieille maison du Canada" n'est pas contestable en ce qui concerne la province de Québec, je me suis un instant demandé si l'ancienne Acadie, de quatre ans notre aînée, ne pourrait pas confondre et réduire à néant ma présomptueuse affirmation.

Tout le monde sait qu'en 1613, le poste missionnaire de Saint-Sauveur, l'établissement de Sainte-Croix et l'habitation de Port-Royal—tous bâtis de bois—furent pillés et brûlés par Samuel Argall;³⁶ que l'entreprise de la Hève, à peine ébauchée, ne survécut pas à son fondateur, Isaac de Razilly, mort en 1635. Mais peut-être, me disais-je, reste-t-il quelque chose d'important sur telle ou telle des baronnies concédées par William Alexander, vers 1629; ou sur le domaine de Charles Latour, soit au Cap Sable, soit à l'embouchure du fleuve Saint-Jean; ou sur le second Port-Royal, commencé en 1635 par Charles d'Aulnay-Charnisay. . . . Hélas! non. Des défrichés, des enfoncements du terrain, des cairns commémoratifs, des plaques de bronze, une excellente reconstitution exécutée à Lower Granville, en 1940, par le gouvernement canadien, les anciennes fortifications et l'hospitalier musée d'Annapolis Royal nous rappellent l'effort civilisateur d'il y a trois siècles; mais les habitations mêmes des humains qui fournirent cet effort ont depuis longtemps

³¹Paul-André Lamontagne, "Notes historiques sur la première église de Sillery, la vieille Maison des Jésuites et le monument Massé" (*L'Appel*, 19 mai 1949).

³²J. Camille Pouliot, *Glanures historiques et familiales: L'Île d'Orléans* (Québec, 1927).

³³La Société historique régionale de Québec, "Vieilles Maisons de Québec" (*Cahiers d'Histoire*, Première série, no. 1, 1947, 7-10).

³⁴*Vieux Manoirs, Vieilles Maisons*, album publié par la Commission des Monuments historiques de la Province de Québec (Québec, 1927).

³⁵*Le Devoir*, 20 avril 1949.

³⁶Voir la *Relation* du P. Pierre Biard, chaps. XXV-XXIX.

disparu, tandis que la Vieille Maison des Jésuites, dans l'anse de Sillery, est encore debout: ses murs épais de pierre des champs remontent à 1637.

Outre la récente transformation de cette maison en musée, deux circonstances m'ont engagé à vous raconter, cette année en ce lieu, son histoire.

L'an 1949 rappelle le martyre des huit surhommes que tout le Canada, sans distinction de race ou de religion, honore comme les Saints Martyrs Canadiens: Jean de Brébeuf, Isaac Jogues, et leurs compagnons. Or il est certain qu'avant de se rendre en Huronie ou en Iroquoisie, les Martyrs Canadiens séjournèrent dans la maison de Sillery. Le registre de la mission en témoigne formellement pour quatre d'entre eux: les Pères Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant et Noël Chabanel y conférèrent le baptême; le donné René Goupil y fut parrain. Le bon sens plaide pour les autres: imagine-t-on des frères exilés vivant voisins et ne se visitant pas? Le passage des Martyrs Canadiens dans la maison de Sillery donne à cette maison la valeur d'un reliquaire.

La seconde circonstance est le décès à Sillery, en 1646, d'un des premiers missionnaires de l'Acadie et du Canada.

A son retour des Trois-Rivières, le 18 mai 1646, le P. Jérôme Lalemant écrit dans le *Journal*: "J'y trouvai le P. Ennemond Massé, mort dans la nuit du 11 au 12, sur la minuit, et enterré en la nouvelle chapelle non encore achevée."

La première chapelle de Sillery fut probablement une pièce de la vaste résidence. Le fondateur avait laissé aux Jésuites une marge de trois ans pour construire une chapelle extérieure en l'honneur de la sainte Vierge. Sa mort en 1640, et l'acquittement incomplet, par la succession, des obligations contractées empêchèrent d'abord les Pères de se mettre à l'oeuvre. Au cours de 1644, grâce à un don des héritiers de Michel de Marillac, ancien garde des sceaux sous Louis XIII, ils entreprirent de bâtir l'église. Ce fut la première église de pierre au Canada. Elle fut bénite, le 8 mai 1647, jour de l'Apparition de saint Michel, dont elle devait porter le titre en mémoire du donateur. Pour remplir l'engagement pris envers M. de Sillery, on aménagea dans les transepts deux autels latéraux, dédiés l'un à la Vierge Marie, l'autre à saint Joseph.³⁷

C'est dans cette "nouvelle chapelle non encore achevée," en face de la résidence, qu'avait été enterré le P. Massé, le 12 mai 1646. En 1869, deux prêtres, les abbés Laverdière et Casgrain, qui venaient de lire ce détail dans le vieux *Journal des Jésuites* retrouvé, résolurent de mettre à découvert les fondations de l'église, rasée en 1824, et d'en explorer avec soin le contenu. L'ouvrage terminé, ils déclarèrent que l'édifice avait la forme d'une croix, le portail étant tourné vers le fleuve et l'abside dessinant un hexagone. Ils avaient trouvé les restes du P. Massé "dans la chapelle latérale qui ouvre du côté de l'Évangile";³⁸ ils firent construire au même endroit une voûte de briques blanches et y replacèrent les ossements.³⁹

L'un des deux premiers Jésuites à se consacrer aux missions canadiennes—le P. Biard et lui débarquèrent à Port-Royal le 22 mai 1611—et, à deux reprises, durant des séjours forcés en Europe, le grand respon-

³⁷Papiers des Jésuites: De la chapelle de Sillery.

³⁸Abbé H.-R. Casgrain, *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* (Québec, 1878), 99 n.

³⁹Le *Journal de Québec*, 27 juin 1870.

sable du mouvement missionnaire français vers le Canada, au XVII^e siècle, le P. Ennemond Massé, méritait d'avoir un monument sur sa tombe. M. Henry Le Mesurier, encore propriétaire du terrain, le mit gracieusement à la disposition des deux abbés, et M. Richard Reid Dobell, le commerçant le plus en vue de Sillery, organisa une souscription. Le monument fut dévoilé le 26 juin 1870.⁴⁰ C'est la société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (section de Sillery) qui l'entretient depuis, et elle y dépose chaque été une couronne.

Noël Brûlart de Sillery, Ennemond Massé, nos Saints Martyrs Canadiens: à eux seuls, ces noms glorieux doivent nous rendre chère la Vieille Maison des Jésuites—la plus vieille au Canada—and nous inspirer de la reconnaissance envers ceux qui, depuis 1637, nous l'ont tour à tour conservée, restaurée, ressuscitée.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Stanley said that the establishment of the mission at Sillery was the first attempt in Canadian history to solve the problem of cultural contact of the whites and the Indians. It was a problem which still remains with us. *Mr. Stanley* said that Father Pouliot's paper raised the point of the preservation of historic buildings in Canada. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board had done important work in marking sites, but it lacked the funds necessary to undertake the work of preserving important historical monuments, such, for instance, as the Citadel of Halifax. Here is one of the great historic monuments of Canada falling into decay. Fort Henry at Kingston is a magnificent example of what can be done. The restoration of Fort Henry might well be repeated in the Halifax Citadel.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HALIFAX

By C. BRUCE FERGUSSON
Public Archives of Nova Scotia

THE arrival on June 21, 1749, of Colonel the Honourable Edward Cornwallis¹ at Chebucto, Nova Scotia, was an event important for the times, and portentous for the future. It marked the beginning of real settlement in the colony, and foreshadowed the overthrow of France in Canada. It presaged the role to be taken by Nova Scotia in the American Revolutionary War, and was a decisive step in the development of the Canadian nation from Atlantic to Pacific. The name of the new town which he came to found was a tribute to the second Earl of Halifax who, at the head of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, supervised the undertaking.²

The British had made no real attempt to plant settlers in Nova Scotia from the Treaty of Utrecht to 1749, though the importance of having a base on the ocean side of the peninsula,³ and of making Nova Scotia an effective barrier against an attack on the other British colonies,⁴ had long been realized. The only colonists of British origin were a small group at Annapolis Royal, and the fishermen or soldiers at the Canso fishing station, while the Acadians formed the vast majority of the population. Meantime the French still held Ile St. Jean and Ile Royale, where they had built a strong fortress at Louisburg, and from which they tried to retain their influence over the Acadians and Indians in Nova Scotia, and to restrict the disputed limits of the British colony. Stung to action by French and Indian raids at Canso and elsewhere, the New Englanders with the aid of a British squadron had retaliated by capturing Louisburg in 1745. When the coastal menace was conjured up again, through the restoration of Louisburg to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, action was taken to offset its influence by the foundation of Halifax, "the only English colony in America founded by direct government action."⁵

Early in 1749 the Lords of Trade published an announcement about plans for the settlement of Nova Scotia, and advertised for prospective

¹For a biographical sketch see James S. Macdonald, "Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Founder of Halifax" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XII).

²The second Earl of Halifax showed such zeal in promoting colonial trade that he later came to be known as the "Father of the Colonies." *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³William Inglis Morse, *Acadiensia Nova* (2 vols., Plaistow, Eng., 1935), I, 188; II, 5-14. Also Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Documents, vol. 14, R. Philipps to the Hon. the Principal Officers of the Ordnance, May 26, 1720; and Archibald MacMechan, *A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741* (Halifax, 1900), 62.

⁴Manuscript Documents, vol. 13 1/2, W. Shirley and Chas. Knowles to the Duke of Newcastle, Apr. 28, 1747. For the efforts of the French Sedentary Fishing Company of Acadia at Chebucto, see Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia* (3 vols., Halifax, 1865-7), I, 539; *Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France*, by the Sieur De Dierville (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1933), 73-5; and John Clarence Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Saint John, N.B., 1934), 124-5. And for British projects, see Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, I, 394-6; and *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 56 (Boston, 1923), 20, 34, 34 n., 45, 47.

⁵The *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. I, *The Old Empire to 1783* (Cambridge, 1929), 393.

settlers.⁶ Free passage, land grants, and subsistence for one year after arrival were offered. Settlers were also to get material and equipment for clearing and cultivating the land, erecting habitations, and carrying on the fishery, as well as arms and ammunition. These terms were offered to surgeons and tradesmen, as well as to disbanded soldiers and sailors. Thus it was hoped to reduce the number of unemployed in Britain resulting from the sudden hard times of peace, and to provide in Nova Scotia a counterpoise to Louisburg which would also be a centre for trade and a base for the fishery. Chebucto was an ideal site, not only because of its superb natural harbour, but also because of its position about midway between the Bay of Fundy and Cape Breton, and "in the fair way of all Vessels that fall in with that Coast from Europe. . . ."⁷

The Cornwallis expedition was the sequel to the advertisement. It comprised the *Sphinx*, a sloop-of-war, carrying the governor and his suite, thirteen transports with settlers, and a number of supply ships. The *Sphinx* set out on May 14, and was followed a few days later by the transports, carrying 2,545 settlers.⁸ More than half of the men were from the armed forces, and about sixty of them had been officers. In those days, however, the armed services were not noted for education and comforts, for comfortable barracks or healthy amusements; and men in the ranks were illiterate, intemperate, and neglected. In times of peace they were often crowded in insanitary barracks, where through disease and drink they died like sheep. Sailors fared worse, if anything, living in ships that were often little better than jails. Discipline was maintained by the cat, and many died under the lash. It was men released from this kind of life who formed a large proportion of the party which founded Halifax. Many of the remainder were not much better. After the work of settlement began, Cornwallis himself reported that of the soldiers about one hundred were active, industrious men, while of the tradesmen, sailors, and others only about two hundred were able and willing to work. The rest, he stated, were poor, idle, worthless vagabonds.⁹ Among the settlers were surgeons and midwives, clergymen and schoolmasters, periwig makers, a goldsmith, a silversmith, a printer, a staymaker and a wool comber. Many other occupations were also represented. But there were only ninety-one carpenters, 155 farmers or gardeners, and fifteen fishermen. Thus these occupations, which would be of use in the pioneer settlement, formed only a small proportion of the whole.

The thirteen transports reached Chebucto by July 1; and another vessel brought 116 settlers from England on August 30.¹⁰ Other settlers began to reach Halifax from both sides of the Atlantic; and New Englanders, accustomed to New World conditions, soon formed the largest element in the population. After the evacuation of Louisburg by the British in July, 1749, "a good many" civilians accompanied the Hopson

⁶Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1869), 495-7. Also the *London Magazine*, Mar., 1749, 119-21.

⁷Manuscript Documents, vol. 13 1/2, W. Shirley and Chas. Knowles to the Duke of Newcastle, Apr. 28, 1747.

⁸Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, 506-57.

⁹Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 2, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, July 24, 1749.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, doc. 6, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Sept. 11, 1749.

and Warburton regiments to the new town.¹¹ Throughout the summer and autumn a swarm of New England vessels came and went, bringing supplies and additional settlers,¹² so that by the spring of 1750 "almost 1000 settlers from the other Colonies" had arrived,¹³ to take the place of a like number of the first arrivals, who had succumbed to bad rum or the dreaded typhus.¹⁴ Besides New Englanders and New Yorkers,¹⁵ a few fishermen from the west of England,¹⁶ a small number of settlers from the Azores,¹⁷ and a considerable number of "foreign Protestants" from the continent of Europe added to the total.¹⁸ In 1767, when the population was reported to be 3,022, nearly one-half were of American origin, while more than one-quarter were Irish, and about one-tenth English. Of the remainder, 264 were Germans and other foreigners, 200 were Acadians, and 52 were Scots.¹⁹ In times of warfare, the resident population were often outnumbered by the armed forces; and for a time in 1776 Halifax was the headquarters of the British forces in North America.²⁰ During and after the American Revolutionary War a large number of refugees and Loyalists went to Halifax. Some of these remained there, but most of them settled elsewhere in the province. In 1791 the population was reported to be 4,897,²¹ at the close of the century the resident population numbered between five and six thousand; and early in 1801 the total was reported to be about 8,500.²²

When Cornwallis arrived at Chebucto, "the country [was] one continual wood," but soon the scene was transformed. The site chosen for the town was the side of a hill that commanded the whole peninsula, and provided shelter from the northwest winds. There John Brewse, an English engineer, and Charles Morris, a surveyor from Massachusetts, laid out the town on a harbour, "the finest they had ever seen."²³ The town extended seven blocks along the water-front, and the same number up the hillside, and was enclosed by a barricade of felled trees and brushwood, which connected five picketed forts and extended down to the water-side. Before the end of 1749, there were 400 houses within the fortifications, and about 200 outside.²⁴ The next year the barricade was replaced by a palisade, and five-acre farm lots on the Halifax peninsula,

¹¹ *The London Magazine*, Sept., 1749, 412-15; Manuscript Documents, vol. 35 doc. 5, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Aug. 20, 1749.

¹² *The London Magazine*, Oct., 1749, 471-2.

¹³ Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 12, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Apr. 30, 1750.

¹⁴ T. B. Akins, "History of Halifax City" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, VIII, 19); also "Letters and other Papers relating to the early History of the Church of England in Nova Scotia" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, VII, 110-11).

¹⁵ By September, 1751 there were enough New Yorkers "as [would] nearly fill one of the Largest Streets in the Town." "The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776," (*New York Historical Society Collections*, 1936, 302).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Manuscript Documents, vol. 35.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. 68, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Apr. 20, 1752.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 443, doc. 1.

²⁰ *Report of Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, for the year ended 30th November 1940* (Halifax, 1941), Appendix B.

²¹ Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, III, 424.

²² *Ibid.*, 215.

²³ Manuscript Documents, vol. 40, doc. 1, Cornwallis to Duke of Bedford, June 22, 1749.

²⁴ Akins, "History of Halifax City," 262.

were laid out.²⁵ Germans settled early in Dutch Village, between the North West Arm and Bedford Basin, as well as in the North Suburbs, and Irish settlers built up Irishtown in the South Suburbs.

Although a few significant developments took place in the eighteenth century, until Halifax was incorporated in 1841, government remained largely in the hands of the governor and Council, and their nominees. A new civil government for Nova Scotia was formed on July 14, 1749, when a new Council was appointed. A few days later four justices of the peace were appointed, and constables were selected by the settlers.²⁶ Shortly afterwards the governor and Council sat as a general court. A year later a county court was established, and about the same time a court of general sessions was formed.²⁷ In 1751 the town and suburbs were divided into eight wards, and the citizens were empowered to choose certain town officers every year.²⁸ A supreme court was established in 1754, when Jonathan Belcher was appointed chief justice.²⁹ After the first Assembly of the province met in 1758, it initiated legislation to provide a municipal government for Halifax, but this action was nullified by the Council. Then, in 1759, "An Act for Preventing Trespasses" provided that a joint committee of the Council and the Assembly should choose certain town officers, who were to act until a grand jury should nominate, and the Court of Sessions should appoint, their successors that autumn. Thereafter annual selections were to be made in this manner. Thus failed the first effort of the New Englanders in Halifax to win municipal government. The system of appointing town officers was modified in 1765, when a grand jury, selected by lot, was empowered to nominate two or more persons for each office, and the Court of Sessions was empowered to choose and appoint the officers from these nominees.³⁰

In the first half-century, while Halifax relied chiefly on governmental expenditures, interesting developments were made in fisheries and agriculture as well as in business and industry. Privateering was also a rich source of profit to a number of Haligonians in war-time and, during the American Revolutionary War, Halifax became a commercial entrepôt for British North America, as well as a centre for direct trade with the West Indies.³¹ The fishery had its beginning in 1749,³² and produced

²⁵Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 33, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, June 24, 1751. Also Harry Piers, "The Old Peninsular Blockhouses and Road at Halifax, 1751: Their History, Description and Location" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XXII); and Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress* (Halifax, 1947), 5-6.

²⁶Manuscript Documents, vol. 209, Council Minutes. Also vol. 164, Commission Book.

²⁷*Catalogue of Portraits of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia*. (Law Courts, Halifax, N.S., n.d.)

²⁸Manuscript Documents, vol. 209, Council Minutes, Jan. 14, 1751.

²⁹Akins, "History of Halifax City," 44-6.

³⁰P.A.N.S., Records of Halifax County Quarter Sessions; Walter C. Murray, "Local Government in the Maritime Provinces" (in *Municipal Government in Canada*, ed. S. M. Wickett, Toronto, 1907); D. C. Harvey, "The Struggle for the New England Form of Township Government" (*Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1933).

³¹*Report of Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia for the year ended November 30, 1936* (Halifax, 1937), Appendix C.

³²Soon after the arrival of the first settlers in 1749 a galley was ordered to sea for a few days of fishing cod for the settlement. Manuscript Documents, Order to Jon. Davies of the Warren Galley, dated Aug. 27, 1749.

25,000 quintals in 1750.³³ The next year an export bounty encouraged export to Spain.³⁴ The disparity in duties between foreign and colonial whale oil entering Great Britain resulted in the start of the whale fishery from Halifax in 1779, when a former prize, the *Jenny*, set out on a whaling voyage.³⁵ In 1785 a group of Nantucket whalers settled across the harbour at Dartmouth, and built up a lucrative industry.³⁶ In that year, Spermaceti candles, made in Nova Scotia, were sold at Halifax for 2s. 6d. per pound.³⁷ After the Nantucket whalers left for Milford Haven seven years later, however, a Halifax Spermaceti Refinery was offered for sale.³⁸ Ship-building was also aided by a bounty in 1751;³⁹ and by that time lumbering had begun, for the *Osborn*, a galley which was launched at Halifax in July, 1751, carried several large pines across the Atlantic to Portsmouth for masts.⁴⁰ Printing and newspapers were first introduced into Canada at Halifax. In August, 1751 Bartholomew Green, Jr., the son of the founder of the Boston *News Letter*, the first newspaper in America, went to Halifax to open a printing establishment. He died soon afterwards, and then his former partner, John Bushell, followed him to Halifax, where he launched the first newspaper in Canada, the *Halifax Gazette*, in 1752.⁴¹ Brickmaking and distilling were begun early;⁴² bakeries and mills were established;⁴³ book-shops,⁴⁴ drug stores,⁴⁵ and a "Salmon Manufactory"⁴⁶ were opened; book-binding was

³³*Ibid.*, vol. 35, doc. 29, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, Nov. 27, 1750.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, July 1, 1751; John Wilson, *A Genuine Narrative of the Transactions in Nova Scotia, since the Settlement, June 1749 till August the 5th, 1751*. (London, Eng., n.d.).

³⁵Margaret Ells, "The Dartmouth Whalers" (*Dalhousie Review*, Apr., 1935, 86); *Report of Public Archives of Nova Scotia*, 1936, Appendix C.

³⁶Margaret Ells, "The Dartmouth Whalers."

³⁷*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1785.

³⁸*Royal Gazette*, July 10, 1792.

³⁹This "answered well," according to Cornwallis, "many having commenced building. . ." Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 36.

⁴⁰Wilson, *A Genuine Narrative*.

⁴¹Credit is sometimes given to Otis Little, a New Englander who became the first attorney-general of Nova Scotia, for the introduction of printing, since in the summer of 1751 he organized a company for the purpose of establishing a newspaper and carrying on the business of printing. P.A.N.S., Scrapbook of E. F. Hart, "Early Printing in Nova Scotia," by J. T. Bulmer. Herbert Jefferie, a printer, arrived at Halifax with the Cornwallis expedition in 1749, but it is not known if he brought type, or if he printed anything at Halifax. See J. J. Stewart, "Early Journalism in Nova Scotia" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, VI); and Akins, "History of Halifax City," 222-3.

⁴²Manuscript Documents, vol. 35, doc. 14, Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, July 10, 1750; *ibid.*, doc. 12.

⁴³*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1782; May 12, 1789; July 15, 1788; *Royal Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1797.

⁴⁴In Feb., 1784, for example, Robert Loosely announced that he had removed his book shop from New York to Halifax. Fifteen years later Alexander Morrison was a book-seller there. *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Feb. 3, 1784; *Royal Gazette*, June 25, 1799.

⁴⁵In 1784, Donald M'Lean, "lately arrived from New York," advertised the sale of drugs and medicines, spices, turpentine, etc., as well as the filling of physicians' and family prescriptions. Five years later Philippo, "Druggist," was conducting a similar business. And during the last five years of the century "Head's Drug & Medicine Store" was in business on Granville Street.

⁴⁶*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, June 6, 1786.

carried on;⁴⁷ furriers⁴⁸ and painters⁴⁹ plied their trade; and shoes, hats, soap, corsets, candles, tools, watches, and gold or silver ware were manufactured. Nor were forerunners of modern undertakers lacking. In August, 1785, for example, Mrs. Freeman, at John Lawson's near the Market House, advertised to the public that she would perform funerals on the shortest notice.⁵⁰

The main sources of outside influence are indicated by the means of communication. Throughout the period annual supply ships continued to make their voyages from England, although communication was sometimes uncertain and infrequent. At the same time a flourishing trade was carried on by coasting vessels with towns in Nova Scotia itself and with New England.

Living conditions in Halifax improved considerably throughout the period. Many of the first houses, small, generally of one story and sometimes of picketed construction, were replaced by more commodious buildings in the later years of the century. The homes of many contained rough tables and chairs, but those of the more well-to-do had furniture of a more substantial type than now used by people of the same standing. The kitchen was then of prime importance; and there for many years was done all the cooking and baking and brewing, over a hard-wood fire, started from flint and steel, at the open hearth. Afterwards coal was obtained from Sydney Mines or Cow Bay. The dining-room of the more well-to-do was furnished with a plain, mahogany table, supported by heavy legs often ornamented at the feet with carvings in the shape of lions' paws. There would also be a high and rather narrow side-board, a covered writing-desk bound with brass plates at the edges, corners and sides, a cellaret for wines and liquors, and uncomfortable chairs—cumbersome, straight-backed and cushioned with black horse-hair cloth. The sofa, an uncommon article, was plain but roomy; and the large armchair deserved its name. Bed-room furniture was of similar wood, and in a similar style. The bedsteads were four-posted, canopied and curtained. The chests of drawers and ladies' wardrobes were covered with burnished brass. And in many a hall stood a clock, encased in a frame of large size.⁵¹

Food was usually substantial, though often lacking in variety. On occasion the arrival of large military and naval forces resulted in a rapid rise in prices, or almost caused a famine. Corned beef, pork, and salted codfish were more common to all classes than was fresh meat. Preserved fruits were a delicacy in winter; poultry early came into fashion; and vegetables were either provided from private gardens or procured when possible from those of others. Some who wished to conserve fuel, or

⁴⁷In 1770 by Benjamin Phippen in Prince Street, opposite the Wheat-Shave. *Nova-Scotia Chronicle*, Jan. 30-Feb. 6, 1770.

⁴⁸Augustine Baffel, a furrier from Quebec, opened a business at Halifax in 1794.

⁴⁹Tradition says that John Merrick, who became a master painter in the dockyard, was the one who made the plans for Province House, which was begun in 1811, and this has given rise to speculation. It is less strange, however, in view of his advertisement of his painting business in 1789, which included the following: "N.B. Plans, Elevations, and Designs for Building, executed in the neatest manner."

⁵⁰*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Aug. 23, 1785.

⁵¹Rev. G. W. Hill, *Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton* (Halifax, 1864), 48-9. Also A. W. H. Eaton, "Social Life of Halifax after the Revolution" (*Americana*, 1915); and "Halifax in 1793" (in *Report of Public Archives of Canada*, 1946, Ottawa, 1947, xxiv-xxviii).

who were not very skilful in the culinary art, bought their bread at the bake-houses in Grafton and Pleasant Streets.⁵²

Drink was plentiful. Pure water, though easily obtained, to the accompaniment of noisy pumphandles and the wrangling of children, was not the only liquid consumed, for rum and wines were easily obtained and found ready sale.

Streets were in a rough state for a long time, and gardens could be seen within the town proper as well as in the suburbs. On fine days the most popular promenade was the "Mall." This was the planked walk on the eastern or lower side of Barrington and Pleasant Streets, from the Parade to the foot of the present Inglis Street. Another favorite promenade was the Grand Parade. Sometimes on rainy days ladies hired sedan chairs and went down to the Market Hall at the foot of George Street, where they could stroll beneath the balcony.

Something of Halifax development may also be seen in its amusements and diversions. Annual dinners were held by the national societies;⁵³ the festival of St. Aspinquid was celebrated during the seventeen-seventies;⁵⁴ and dances and balls took place at coffee houses or Government House. Horse-racing began in 1768, and was discontinued in 1771 because it tended to idleness, drinking, gambling, and immorality.⁵⁵ Billiards and gambling were subjects of complaint in 1784.⁵⁶ And during the seventeen-eighties and nineties musical concerts, both vocal and instrumental, were presented.⁵⁷ Entertainment was also provided in the last decade of the century by magicians, by feats on the tight and slack rope, by tumbling, by wax-work exhibitions, and by humorous lectures.⁵⁸

The theatre was introduced into Halifax before the American Revolution, and not after it, as has sometimes been stated. *Jane Shore* and *The Virgin Unmask'd* were presented on September 2, 1768,⁵⁹ and other plays may have been performed before that. By 1770, at any rate, interest in plays had become considerable, as comments in the newspapers attest.⁶⁰ Play-going owed its origin at Halifax to the desire of members of the armed forces for enjoyment, and criticism of it was due to some of those of Puritan sentiment who charged it with being worse than vanity, and with being such a wretched instructor of the age as to teach nothing more than its profaneness and debauchery.⁶¹ Yet dramas steadily increased in popularity among the general population

⁵²Hill, *Sir Brenton Halliburton*, 50-3.

⁵³The North British Society was organized in 1768; the Charitable Irish Society, St. George's Society, and the German Society, all in 1786. Other societies and associations included the Freemasons, one of the oldest, the Halifax Marine Society, the Nova Scotia Agricultural Society, and the Carpenters' Society.

⁵⁴*Nova-Scotia Chronicle*, May 29-June 5, 1770; *Nova-Scotia Gazette*, May 25, 1773; June 1, 1773.

⁵⁵James S. MacDonald, "Richard Bulkeley" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XII, 73-4).

⁵⁶*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1784.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1790; *Royal Gazette*, Jan. 10, 1792; Jan. 15, 1793; Mar. 12, 1793; Jan. 30, 1798; Mar. 26, 1799; Apr. 2, 1799.

⁵⁸*Royal Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1794; Dec. 30, 1794; Jan. 6-10, 1795; Sept. 23, 1794; Nov. 3, 1795; Oct. 30, 1798; Apr. 9, 1799; Aug. 13, 1799.

⁵⁹*Nova-Scotia Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1768.

⁶⁰*Nova-Scotia Chronicle*, Jan. 2-9, 1770; Feb. 6-13, 1770; Mar. 27—Apr. 3, 1770; May 1-8, 1770.

⁶¹*Royal Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1793.

during the remaining years of the century. Until the first regular theatre building was erected on Argyle Street in 1789, the Pontac inn was the place for the presentation of plays; and more than a hundred different plays, operas, and farces were presented in the last fifteen years of the century.⁶²

All of these activities marked the development of Halifax in the eighteenth century and illustrate the interplay of New World and Old World influences, and the changing emphases on Halifax as a New England or an imperial outpost, as a harbour or a military and naval base, and as a port or town or seat of government. In the early days the surface was continually stirred by rivalry between the Old and New World settlers;⁶³ and this was followed after the American Revolution by jealousy between the old settlers and the Loyalists.⁶⁴ Nevertheless a gradual growth is apparent; and by the end of the century mutual rivalries owing to differences in origin were being resolved by intermarriage, by the rise of a new generation, and by the emergence of the distinct characteristics of Nova Scotians.

⁶²A. R. Jewitt, "Early Halifax Theatres" (*Dalhousie Review*, 1925-6, 444-57).

⁶³Akins, "History of Halifax City," 39.

⁶⁴Margaret Ells, "Loyalist Attitudes" (*Dalhousie Review*, 1935-6, 320-34).

INCIDENTS IN VICTORIAN HALIFAX

By PHYLLIS R. BLAKELEY
Public Archives of Nova Scotia

SIX weeks after the death of King William IV, the 14,000 people living in Halifax learned that they now owed allegiance to the eighteen-year-old Princess Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Kent, whom many remembered when he had been stationed in Halifax as commander of the forces. This news of a new ruler "of the foremost Nation of the World," arrived by way of Newfoundland, word having been brought from Cork by the army transport *Stakesby*, and then relayed by the schooner *Eight Sons* to Halifax.¹

Queen Victoria's coronation was not only a holiday long remembered by Haligonians, but also an opportunity to express their loyalty, for, in the words of one newspaper, "Agitators in Canada should hear of our loyalty,—and those of the United States, whose movements called again and again for counter expressions, should get further proof of our affection to Great Britain."² On June 28 the townspeople were aroused at dawn by a royal salute fired from the Grand Parade by the militia. From "4 o'clock, to six," commented the *Novascotian*, "guns, fired at brief intervals, pleasantly disturbed those who did not wish to begin the day too early, and caused Coronation visions to break their morning slumbers."³ At 6 A.M., colours were hoisted by the merchant vessels lying in the harbour, and by H.M.S. *Madagascar*, commanded by Captain Provo Wallis, the Halifax boy who had brought the *Shannon* and her prize the *Chesapeake* safely into port after Captain Broke had been wounded in the battle off Boston. Flags also fluttered from flagpoles, houses, and stores, from the Citadel, the Town Clock, the Province Building, the Masonic Hall, and from St. Paul's church where a dozen decorated the cupola. Church bells rang in the ears of the cheerful crowds who were making their way to the exercising ground, that part of the Commons northwest of Fort George.⁴

After watching Lieutenant-Governor Sir Colin Campbell review the troops, the spectators hurried to the Grand Parade to join the multitudes already waiting to see the procession. The arrival of the Masonic Lodges "in full costume, with banners and symbols, and preceded by the 73rd Band," was the signal for the procession to move slowly along Barrington Street between lines of spectators. After each society presented an address to Sir Colin, who was standing near the portico of Government House, the parade continued back through the town along Hollis Street to the Commons. The Citadel was covered with a dense mass, "mostly ladies, whose gay dresses made the old hill look like a vast tulip bed."⁵ Below in an irregular column marched the committee, the militia, the North British and Charitable Irish Societies, the Carpenters' Society in full costume with blue favours and sprigs of oak, the African Friendly Society wearing blue sashes and bearing pink and

¹*Novascotian*, Aug. 3, 1837; *The Times*, Halifax, N.S., Aug. 1, 1837.

²*Novascotian*, June 14, 1838.

³*Ibid.*, July 5, 1838.

⁴*Acadian Recorder*, extra, July 2, 1838; *Novascotian*, July 5, 1838.

⁵*Novascotian*, July 5, 1838.

blue flags inscribed with "Victoria and Freedom," eighty mounted truckmen, and the regimental bands and the Highland Pipes in full costume "sending forth strains so exciting to the sons of old Scotia."

Before the main procession had started, three hundred members of the Nova Scotia Philanthropic Society, all decked in blue favours, had marched to Government House. Two Indians carried the handsome light blue banner of the Society with the insignia of mayflowers encircling a royal crown. The Society had refused to walk in the parade when the Coronation Committee did not allow their claim to head the procession because they were the only organization native to the province. This incident reveals the extent to which patriotic feeling for Nova Scotia had grown.

After the main procession had dispersed amidst wild cheering, everyone moved to the tents pitched about the hill and soon music and cheers were replaced by the "clatter of knives and forks, the rattling of cups, the unrestricted gossip of friendly parties, and soon, by the toast, the speech, and the hip, hip, hurrah."⁶ The citizens enjoyed themselves all the more because the celebrations had been arranged by a public meeting and everyone had contributed to the expense fund. While the governor, the army and navy officers, and the notables of the town were being entertained in a private marquee by the Coronation Committee, the poor and unfortunate were not forgotten. Beef, bread, and porter were liberally distributed and "thousands were thus fed with a wholesome and cheerful repast."⁷ Dinners were given to those in the poor house, the jail, and the bridewell or house of correction. Twenty-six prisoners were pardoned, including all the debtors, and only one criminal remained in jail, because he was, according to the *Acadian Recorder*, "unfortunately . . . a thief of too deep a dye to be let loose in the community."⁸

In the afternoon there were sports such as foot races, football, sack races, and an Irish hurling match between the "reds" and "greens" which had to be abandoned because the spectators joined in the sport. Many young lads scrambled up thirty-foot greased poles in quest of silver coins placed on top, or made futile efforts to grab one of half a dozen well greased pigs loosed among the mob. Others joined in a two-hour cross-country chase in the hope of capturing a queer looking Sable Island pony which had been shaved and painted to look like a zebra.

As dusk fell crowds began to assemble "down town" to admire the illuminations and transparencies, particularly those in the Carpenters' Hall, the Engine House, and Dalhousie College on the Grand Parade where the City Hall stands today. The band of the 23rd Regiment played before the Province House which was covered with glittering lamps which "threw a glare of light on the streets surrounding it, more resplendent than moonlight."⁹ At nine o'clock the Parade and nearby streets were packed with young and old awaiting the fireworks. After a salute by the artillery, a curtain was drawn to reveal a transparency of the Queen mounted on horseback, surrounded by the colours of the Halifax regiments and by the Stars of St. Patrick, of the Garter, and of the Thistle. For over an hour men, women, and children delighted in

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Recorder*, July 2, 1838.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

maroons, blue lights, "trees," "flower-pots," "serpents," and pillars of fire. All these fireworks were made by the artillerymen in the laboratory at Point Pleasant. The favourites with the crowd were the rockets with their curving showers of sparks.

The day closed with a party at Government House for the select few. The guests danced quadrilles and waltzes to the music of the 73rd Band until two o'clock. After an "elegant and sumptuous banquet His Excellency proposed the Queen's health, which was drunk in flowing bumpers of Champagne with reiterated cheers."¹⁰ Thus the Queen's coronation was well celebrated by her "trans-atlantic subjects, who, removed 3000 miles from the scene of splendor and imposing magnificence," nevertheless rejoiced "with spirit and harmony."¹¹

The only gala event in Victorian Halifax which approached in splendour and magnitude the Bicentenary Celebrations of 1949 was the Summer Carnival of 1889. It was a Carnival planned by the Halifax newspapers, the Board of Trade, and the City Council to attract tourists by advertising the natural charms and bracing climate of Nova Scotia, and the noble harbour and delightful pleasure grounds of Halifax. The \$3,000 voted by the City Council for expenses and prizes was supplemented by over \$4,000 contributed by public-spirited merchants. All the citizens tried to do their share by decorating their houses and by helping to arrange special events. Stores, houses, and hotels were hung with bunting and strings of flags whipped in the air above the streets. One correspondent was led to report that at least one good thing would result from the Carnival, "the city will have had . . . the benefit of a good sweeping, such a sweeping as it has not had since the Prince of Wales was here in 1860."¹²

An American writing in the *Boston Transcript* about his impressions of the Halifax Carnival described it as "a gigantic country fair," and "an entertainment for their majesties the people" which attracted and amused thousands of the Nova Scotians themselves.¹³ He went on to relate that it "is quite as good as anything of its kind could be in a town of this size, but for Americans, accustomed to great pageants in great cities, there is nothing remarkable." This American was less interested in the Carnival than in the ships of the British Navy and in the contrasts between Halifax and his hometown, and he was intrigued by the English atmosphere of the garrison city, the custom of five o'clock tea with muffins and gossip, and its charming social life. He found Halifax hospitality "very extensive, genuine, and open-hearted," and learned to disregard uninviting exteriors in the "quaint, delightful, dirty old town in full regalia for the summer carnival."

Thousands of tourists arrived over the weekend of August 3 by steamer and railway, the Intercolonial express being compelled to carry so many extra cars that two locomotives were needed.¹⁴ Visitors and Haligonians alike beheld the town in holiday attire, and enjoyed themselves at reviews, concerts, and theatrical performances. There were the San Francisco Minstrels at the Academy of Music, the ball at the

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*; *Novascotian*, July 5, 1838.

¹²*Recorder*, Aug. 3, 1889.

¹³Reprinted *ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1889.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1889.

Province House, the regattas sponsored by the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, horse racing, the firemen's tournament and baseball games between crack teams from Boston. The visitors also explored the city's beauty spots and enjoyed its abounding hospitality.

On the first day of the Carnival, Sunday, August 4, thousands thronged the streets to watch the Imperial troops and volunteers of the Dominion Militia on church parade to the Garrison Chapel, St. George's Round Church, and St. Patrick's. At the Oddfellows' service in the Free Baptist Church, the *Herald* reporter noted that "the grand chaplain wore a blue silk sash found on the body of an oddfellow lost in the steamship *Atlantic*, to which he made very touching reference."¹⁵ The concert at the Academy of Music by the Grayson Opera Company was criticized because it "was advertised as a sacred concert, and some beautiful selections were rendered, including some of a decidedly secular character—'The heart bowed down,' 'I dreamt I dwelt in Marble halls,' . . . and 'Scotch lassie Jean,'"—a statement typical of Halifax's determination to observe the Sabbath.¹⁶

The highlights of Carnival Week were the sham battle and naval attack, the harbour illumination, and the torchlight parade. Tuesday had been declared a public holiday to allow everyone to see the sham battle and naval attack.¹⁷ All the men and boys of Halifax and their wives, mothers, sisters, country cousins and aunts seemed to be on the streets. But only the early risers had the joy of watching the sham fight on the Commons and the troops taking up their positions at Point Pleasant. By nine young and old had begun to move toward the Point in a constant stream in carriages and on foot. Even after the booming of the guns announced that the battle of Point Pleasant had commenced, more and more came to throng the rocks and knolls from Green Bank to Fort Ogilvie. Spectators on board steamers eagerly watched the moving black mass, streaked by the thin red lines which revealed the whereabouts of the West Riding Regiment and of the volunteers of the 63rd Regiment and of the Princess Louise Fusileers. Here and there a glistening field gun showed the positions of the Garrison Artillery.

Excitement mounted when boats, towed by steam launches, suddenly emerged from the shelter of George's Island with guns spitting flame and smoke. The marines, attempting to land under the protecting fire of their gunboats, pushed closer behind a smokescreen. Tension mounted as the heavy shore batteries answered the bombardment; and the red coats, posted for two miles along the shore and hills of Point Pleasant, by a continuous fusillade of musketry, made the whole shore from the Tower Woods to the outskirts of the city into a wall of flame. Driven back, the launches carried the attacking sailors and marines out of rifle range and ten thousand onlookers yelled in triumph.

The harbour illumination on Wednesday night presented an unforgettable spectacle of gorgeous pageantry which surpassed any other water display in the city.¹⁸ About eight o'clock steamers, yachts, and canoes assembled at the Lumber Yard at the foot of South Street, the crews

¹⁵ *Morning Herald*, Halifax, N.S., Aug. 5, 1889.

¹⁶ *Recorder*, Aug. 5, 1889.

¹⁷ *Halifax Carnival Echo*, midsummer edition, 1889; *Halifax Evening Mail*, carnival number, summer, 1889; *Recorder*, Aug. 3-10, 1889; *Herald*, Aug. 5-10, 1889.

¹⁸ *Herald*, Aug. 8, 1889; *Recorder*, Aug. 8, 1889.

having vied with each other to achieve the most magnificent effect. In the glare of electric searchlights from the warships, thirty thousand spectators could be seen jammed on the wharves. Thousands, deafened by the shrieking sirens of ships and launches, made the round trip in the Dartmouth ferries through two miles of water ablaze with coloured lights.

The venetian scene unfolded in all its splendour, when big steamers moved slowly past, giving many Haligonians, as well as strangers, a more vivid idea of the beauty and size of the harbour. Strains of music drifting across the water enhanced the pleasure of all who beheld the glorious spectacle. The yachts of the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron were illuminated with lanterns of all shapes, designs, and colours. Even though the "smallest lantern carried by the smallest boat afloat" contributed to the blaze of splendour, H.M.S. *Pylades* richly deserved the award for the best display. Her hull was outlined from bowsprit to stem with lights, her portholes were ablaze, and because her spars were indistinguishable in the illumination, she appeared to be a phantom vessel. About ten o'clock, rockets shot skyward in all directions, Roman candles belched forth balls of parti-coloured light, red and green fire shed a glare on the flotilla of small boats, and waving torches scattered showers of sparks into the placid waters of the harbour.

The magnificent torchlight procession on Thursday evening was one of the finest events of the Carnival.¹⁹ Tens of thousands crowded the windows and roofs, and lined the streets along the route. A profuse display of coloured fire and exploding fireworks turned the streets into fairyland. One of the best illuminations was the Academy of Music where all evening fireworks revealed the decorations on the building and shed a brilliant halo over the passing pageant. The procession, nearly two miles long, took an hour to pass one corner, and, though it started from the Commons shortly after eight, it did not reach the Exhibition Grounds on Tower Road until midnight. Just before starting, a mishap occurred when the van of T. S. Sims and Company of Saint John caught fire, and delayed the parade to the annoyance of the waiting spectators. In the procession were policemen, city and government officials, bands and fire departments from towns in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, floats from various firms such as Gordon and Keith, Singer Sewing Machine, Comet Stove Polish, W. H. Schwartz, and Oland and Sons, and from clubs such as St. Patrick's Juveniles, the Red Cap Snow Shoe Club, the Preston and Razzle Dazzle Club. The outstanding float, and the one which received first prize, was the "King of the Carnival" by the "Alma" reel of the volunteer firemen. Large, dreadful golden dragons and sea serpents with glaring red and green eyes were piled one on top of another in picturesque confusion. In the centre was a pyramid of coats-of-arms and of floral designs with an illuminated canopy of red plush and gold. On top of the pyramid was a golden swan on which the King of the Carnival was perched. The "Salamander" hose reel was a vivid and startling representation of its name, and was the favourite of many of the onlookers. Rising out of a mountain of belching flame and smoke was a 14-foot monster salamander, with a head of gold, a copper neck, and an iron body which had been cast by McDonald

¹⁹*Herald*, Aug. 9, 1889.

and Company. With outstretched wings, glaring eyes, and emitting wild screams this monster moved his jaw, shot out his fiery tongue, and breathed flames, to the terror and delight of all the children.

On Saturday the Carnival ended amid abundant expressions of satisfaction from all sides. Much of the success, however, was due to the fine weather. There were smug expressions in the press about the good behaviour of the citizens such as "there has been no rowdyism or lawlessness, and no more drinking than would naturally be expected under the circumstances."²⁰ Mingled with pride at the success of the Carnival was a feeling of rivalry with Saint John and pleasure that the Halifax Carnival knocked "the one held in our sister city into a cocked hat The only thing about the St. John carnival that is worth mentioning was the electrical exhibition which, we freely admit, was a very creditable affair. But that too would probably have been a failure but for the fact that it was under the management of a Halifax electrician."²¹

Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was another occasion of great rejoicing and much celebration in Halifax.²² It began on June 19 and was observed by a week of festivities, highlighted by the discussions of the Royal Society of Canada, the concerts of the Halifax Symphony Orchestra, and the visit of the governor-general, Lord Aberdeen and the Countess of Aberdeen. The Countess presided at the meetings of the National Council of Women and unveiled the "Nymph" fountain in the Public Gardens before five thousand school children. The military tattoo was a beautiful and brilliant close to the celebration, and delighted about fifteen thousand who crowded about the big square on the North Common and on Citadel Hill. The moment the music died away, hundreds of Chinese lanterns were lighted simultaneously by the soldiers who marched and countermarched with bobbing lanterns amid the cheers and applause of the spectators. After the band had played the national anthem, a skilfully arranged picture of her Majesty's face surrounded by many coloured lights could be seen in the sky. A spontaneous roar from the crowd "left no doubt of the loyalty of Halifax."²³

²⁰*Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1889.

²¹*Recorder*, Aug. 10, 1889.

²²P. R. Blakeley, *Glimpses of Halifax 1867-1900* (Publication no. 9 of Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S., 1949), 187-90.

²³*Morning Chronicle*, Halifax, N.S., June 24, 1897.

HALIFAX AS AN INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC FACTOR, 1749-1949

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THE city of Halifax may be said to have played, during its two centuries, two main roles in the history of Canada. One was purely domestic—that of a Maritime metropolis, the focus of the political and commercial life of Nova Scotia, the city of Samuel Cunard and Joseph Howe. The other was imperial and international—that of a military base which has been an important factor in five great maritime wars, and in the strategic calculations of many nations between the wars. The city was founded to serve strategic needs; and it celebrates its two hundredth birthday only four years after the end of a war in which the Halifax base played a greater part than in any previous conflict. It is of this second function that I propose to speak today.

We have to examine three main phases which reflect the steadily changing conditions of international relations in the North Atlantic area and Western Europe, and more particularly the evolution which has led, by not particularly easy stages, to the present happy relationship between the two great sections of the English-speaking world. In the first and shortest, Halifax guarded the flank of the British seaboard colonies and served as an advanced base in the final great British offensive against the French in North America. The second began with the disruption of the Empire in 1775; in it Halifax served, through two wars and a long period of rumours of wars, as a major pivot of British strategy in the New World. The third was inaugurated by the withdrawal of British naval and military forces from Halifax in 1905-7. It has witnessed the two World Wars, in which Halifax served in a new role: as one of the great gateways through which the strength of the New World went forth to the assistance of the Old, and as one of the main bases for the forces protecting the routes over which that strength was exerted.

I. THE FLANK GUARD OF THE FOURTEEN COLONIES, 1749-63

In the year 1745, it will be remembered, the New England colonies, with the help of the Royal Navy and a good deal of luck, surprised the world by capturing from the French the strong fortress of Louisbourg. Three years later British negotiators, liquidating a worldwide war, made the New Englanders very angry by handing Louisbourg back to France in exchange for Madras. The British government, however, was not so oblivious to the interests of the King's American colonies and the conditions of American strategy as the colonists imagined. It well understood that with Louisbourg in French hands again it was essential to provide in that area a British military station of comparable strength as a counterweight and as a protection for New England and her trade. The result was the founding of Halifax.¹

¹J. B. Brebner, *New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (New York, 1927), 131-2.

The character of this enterprise of 1749 as a stroke of policy appears in the fact that Halifax is the only community in America ever established by the direct action of the British government. The choice of the site was doubtless influenced by Admiral d'Anville's utilization of uninhabited Chebucto as a base in his abortive campaign of 1746.² It was, however, a sufficiently obvious idea, and the great attraction of the place was of course its well-protected and extraordinarily commodious harbour. Over a century later, Sir William Jervois pointed out that, including Bedford Basin, there were "nearly 4,000 acres of deep water anchorage" there. "The size of the harbour," he wrote, "will be better understood by a comparison with Plymouth Sound, which contains about 900 acres; or with our Portland Harbour, which contains about 1,300 acres of deep water anchorage."³ This feature, combined with proximity to the greatest trans-Atlantic trade-routes, is still the main reason for Halifax's strategic importance. A subsidiary advantage was the fact that the harbour could be effectively fortified, though not without considerable effort and expense. The process of fortification began, in fact, in the year in which the city was founded.⁴

The special place of Nova Scotia and Halifax in imperial military policy at this period is suggested by the facts that during eight years beginning in 1750 parliamentary grants for the province amounted to nearly £550,000, and that it was allowed a permanent garrison of three regiments. At this time no other colony received more than a small fraction of this expenditure, and the total permanent garrison of the rest of British North America consisted of seven independent companies divided between New York and South Carolina.⁵

Halifax's first war was the Seven Years' War, and in it the town may be said to have justified its creation. It was already a place of some strength, and possessed the naval dockyard which still exists.⁶ It was the main local base for the Royal Navy in the operations in the St. Lawrence area. At Halifax the force intended for the attack on Louisbourg assembled in 1757. That plan was dropped, but it was from Halifax that Amherst and Boscawen sailed the following year with the expedition that actually took Louisbourg. At Halifax Wolfe issued his General Orders for the campaign against Quebec in 1759, although

²*Ibid.*, 131-2, 115-16.

³Public Archives of Canada, W.O. 33, vol. 15, *Report on the Defence of the British Naval Stations in the North Atlantic*, by Lt.-Col. W. F. D. Jervois, Jan. 25, 1865.

⁴Harry Piers, *The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928* (Halifax, 1947).

⁵G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765* (New York, 1907), 11-13; S. M. Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven, 1933), 31. For several years from 1749, the Board of Trade "gave more attention to the care and encouragement of Nova Scotia than to any other matter that came before it" (A. H. Basye, *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, commonly known as the Board of Trade, 1748-1782*, New Haven, 1925, 41).

⁶Knox recorded under the year 1757, ". . . they have a royal dock here, with all the conveniences for the largest first-rate ship to heave down and careen" (Capt. John Knox, *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*, ed. A. G. Doughty, Toronto, Champlain Society, 3 vols., 1914-16, I, 52). A deed dated 1759 for land supposed to be "the nucleus of the present Dockyard" is printed in Charles H. Stubbing, "Dockyard Memoranda, 1894" (*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XIII, 1908). A document of 1761 in Piers, *Halifax Fortress*, Appendix I, seems to leave no doubt that the yard was established on its present site in 1759.

Louisbourg was the actual assembly point from which the fleet sailed.⁷

The destruction of Louisbourg in 1760 left Halifax without a rival as the great British military station in the Maritime area; but it was shortly to suffer a severe setback. The settlement of 1763 and the expulsion of France from Canada stripped it of its significance. War had brought prosperity, peace brought stagnation. "The conquests of Ile Royale and New France had neatly destroyed the strategic importance which had won for Nova Scotia the spasmodic but increasing interest and financial support of Great Britain and New England since 1688."⁸

II. BRITISH STRATEGY VIS-A-VIS THE UNITED STATES, 1775-1906

If the older English colonies had remained within the Empire, it might have been long before Halifax regained its military importance. As it was, however, in 1775 their disputes with the Mother Country flared into war, and simultaneously the city again attracted the attention of strategists. It is true that in the spring of that year Gage withdrew almost the whole of the garrison to help him at Boston, and with only thirty-six effective men left, Halifax must have been weaker than at any other time in its history;⁹ but it was soon reinforced, and by December Sir William Howe, finding Boston uncomfortable, was sending instructions for improving the Halifax fortifications.¹⁰ In the following March he evacuated Boston and himself arrived at Halifax with his army. The town now became for a time the main base of operations against the rebellious colonies. In June, Howe sailed again, his object being the reduction of New York.¹¹

New York was duly taken. That city was thenceforward the chief focus of the British military proceedings in America, and the role of Halifax was secondary. More than the possession of New York, however, was needed to win the war, and the required leadership and resources were not forthcoming. In 1783 the King made peace with the colonies which he had been unable to reduce to obedience, and the early winter of that year witnessed the final great act of the Revolution—the evacuation of New York. For months the convoys had been sailing out past Sandy Hook, with their freight of British and German battalions, Loyalist troops, and dejected civilian refugees. Some went to England, but many went to Nova Scotia, where a large military force was now to be maintained.¹² When New York was handed over to General Washington on November 25 and Sir Guy Carleton departed with the last of the red-

⁷Knox, *Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, I, 23, 44, 213, 328, 335. Wolfe went to Halifax because Louisbourg harbour was blocked by ice (A. G. Doughty and G. W. Parmelee, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham*, 6 vols., Quebec, 1901, II, 21).

⁸J. B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia: A Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years* (New York, 1937), 5.

⁹*Ibid.*, 300.

¹⁰Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (4 vols., London, 1904-9), I, 22-3, Howe to Massey, Dec. 19, 1775.

¹¹A. T. Mahan, *The Major Operations of the Navies in the War of American Independence* (Boston, 1913), 29-30, 38-9.

¹²"... the six regiments that are to remain in Nova Scotia" (*Report on American Manuscripts*, IV, 349, Carleton to Fox, Sept. 12, 1783).

coats, it symbolized the withdrawal of British power, not from America, but into the pinched and frosty north. Thanks in no small part to the influence of the military and naval establishments at Halifax, one of the fourteen seaboard colonies had remained outside the circle of the Revolution; the inflowing Loyalists now rapidly swamped Nova Scotia's "neutral Yankees"; and while the Stars and Stripes flapped loudly on staffs from Maine to Georgia, the Union Jack still flew on Citadel Hill.

When the British marched out of the works at Yorktown, their bands are said to have played "The World Turned Upside Down." It was certainly upside down for Halifax. The military station which had looked northward now faced to the south. New England's outpost against the French of Canada had become Canada's outpost against New England. As the military relationship of the Second Empire and the young Republic began to take shape, it was very clear that Halifax was to be an important element in it.

As always, the conclusion of peace caused the suspension of work on the Halifax fortifications; but the renewal of war in Europe in 1793, combined with the arrival in Halifax next year, as commander-in-chief, of a royal prince¹³ who loved to build forts, led to a large new programme being undertaken. Continued alarms served to keep the defences in at least moderately good condition until the outbreak of the War of 1812.¹⁴

Let us recall for one moment the basic strategic conditions of this war. The Canadian population was very heavily outnumbered by that of the United States; American industrial resources were small, but those of Canada were still smaller; and the lateral communications over which men and munitions from the eastern seaboard could be moved to the shores of the Great Lakes were very inadequate indeed. A great war in Europe made it impossible for Britain to exert more than a fraction of her strength in America. All the advantages in warfare on the Canadian border seemed to lie with the United States, and if that country had exploited these advantages with even a moderate degree of intelligence it could hardly have failed to overrun the Canadas. As it was, Sir James Yeo's comment may have been a trifle rude, but was certainly accurate: "The experience of two years active service has served to convince me that tho' much has been done by the mutual exertions of *both Services*, we also owe as much if not more to the perverse stupidity of the Enemy. . . ."¹⁵

However weak she was in the interior of North America, Great Britain was tremendously strong at sea, and the United States Navy, however efficient, was tiny. The Royal Navy, moreover, had good bases within striking distance of the American coast. Halifax, the headquarters of the North American station, was only 370 sea miles from Boston; Bermuda was only 700 from New York. Thus, though British operations on the Canadian border had to be basically defensive, on the Atlantic seaboard the British were in a position to attack. This was in fact the pattern which the war followed throughout. Such secondary offensive moves on the border as Brock's capture of Detroit were actually defensive in intention, designed for the protection of Canada. But the

¹³Edward, later Duke of Kent.

¹⁴Piers, *Halifax Fortress*, chap. II.

¹⁵C. P. Stacey, ed., "An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign" (*American Historical Review*, XLVI, Jan., 1941), Yeo to Melville, May 30, 1815.

squadrons based on Halifax and Bermuda not only strangled American seaborne trade but threatened a hundred communities along the Atlantic coast and convoyed and supported the expeditions that captured Washington, took and held a good part of Maine, and assailed Baltimore and New Orleans. Thanks to them, American forces which might have been used against Canada were immobilized along the seaboard, and the merchants whose business was ruined by the blockade were rendered strong advocates of ending the war. There were no such complaints from Nova Scotia. Halifax, secure behind the fleet and her forts, was never threatened; and British military and naval expenditures and the profits of privateering and wartime trade made her so prosperous that her citizens would probably have made shift to bear it if the conflict had gone on for another five years.¹⁶

On January 5, 1815 the city of Ghent gave a banquet for the plenipotentiaries who had just succeeded in patching up a peace between Britain and the United States. The assiduous Belgian musicians played "Hail Columbia" and "God Save the King" steadily and alternately all through dinner, until both the British and the Americans found it a bit wearing; and John Quincy Adams was evidently glad when the time came for him to give the last toast: "Ghent, the city of peace; may the gates of the temple of Janus, here closed, not be opened again for a century!"¹⁷ John Quincy would undoubtedly have admitted under cross-examination that he was being consciously optimistic. There can have been few people in 1815 who really felt confident that there would not be another Anglo-American war for a century—let alone that there would never be one at all. For generations to come, in fact, considerable thought and effort were devoted on both sides of the border to preparing for a third war.

During this period, British strategic thinking inevitably followed the same general lines as in 1812-14. It was recognized that operations on the Canadian border must be defensive; but British planners continued to think in terms of offensive action against the American Atlantic seaboard. Thus in 1825 Sir James Carmichael Smyth's commission suggested that the United States' vulnerable point was their seaborne trade and the government's dependence upon customs revenue. The best manner of exploiting this weakness, the commission considered, was to seize Long Island and Staten Island and blockade New York. They wrote: "We think such a measure, if conducted with secrecy and promptitude could not fail of success, and would be a more effectual blow than any operation which could be undertaken from Canada. . . ."¹⁸

During the very serious emergency arising out of the American Civil War, Colonel Jervois, reporting on the defences of British North America, found the old theory still applicable. British operations in Canada and New Brunswick could only be defensive. "In order to apply our re-

¹⁶The best military study of this war is A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812* (2 vols., London, 1905).

¹⁷C. F. Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1874), III, 139.

¹⁸J. J. Talman, ed., "A Secret Military Document, 1825" (*American Historical Review*, XXXVIII, Jan., 1933, 295-300). The continued prevalence of such views is interestingly reflected in a letter of Lord Elgin to Lord Grey, Dec. 6, 1848. It should be noted that the idea that the Rush-Bagot Agreement produced general disarmament is not founded in fact. To the period after 1817 belong the largest military works ever constructed by the British Government in America.

sources to the best effect against the United States, our Navy,—which will always, it is hoped, be superior to that of America,—must perform the principal part in bringing a war with that country to a successful issue. Our offensive operations should be,—the blockade of their sea-ports; the destruction of their commerce; and combined naval and military expeditions, directed, where practicable, against the naval establishments and other places of importance on their sea-board.”¹⁹

In both the defensive and offensive operations, as projected, Halifax had important shares. Jervois described them succinctly in 1865.

Halifax occupies a position of great importance as a naval station, both for purposes of aggression and defence.

It is admirably situated as a centre of refuge and action for squadrons engaged in the defence of the shores of the maritime provinces of British North America, and in the important service of maintaining the command of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. It is also, as it were, a naval entrenched camp which would be on the flank of any American force issuing from the Ports of the States with a view of disturbing our communication by sea with Canada.

Halifax and Bermuda were bracketed together as bases for offensive action. “The fine harbours at these . . . stations,” Jervois wrote, “the capabilities of defence which they possess, and their positions in relation to the Northern States, point them out as the centres where we should collect our forces for aggression upon the American coast, and as the chief stations for our squadrons and vessels of war cruising in the North Atlantic.”²⁰ With these strategic functions in view, the British government was ready to spend large sums on fortifying Halifax. In 1825 Carmichael Smyth’s commission reported that the place had “six very good Sea Batteries” but was exposed on the land side; a real citadel on Citadel Hill was the main requirement.²¹ The Citadel was duly begun in 1828-9, and was completed nearly thirty years later, having cost well over £200,000.²² In 1865 Jervois reported that, the Citadel being “on the whole, a strong work,” the land side was in fair condition; but the sea defences urgently required attention. They were already being improved, and Jervois recommended further extensions. Between 1862 and 1870, over £170,000 was spent on the Halifax defences.²³

In 1871 the British troops were withdrawn from Central Canada in accordance with a general policy of evacuation of the self-governing colonies. There was no suggestion, however, of abandoning Halifax; it continued to be garrisoned “as an Imperial station,” a naval base

¹⁹ *Report on the Defence of the British Naval Stations in the North Atlantic*, 35.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 36, 35.

²¹ *Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington . . . relative to His Majesty’s North American Provinces . . . 1825*, para. 49 (copy in Toronto Reference Library).

²² Piers, *Halifax Fortress*, 43, indicates that the work was finished in 1856, the final cost being “at least £233,882.” The ordnance estimates for 1831 give the estimated cost as £124,863 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1831, vol. VI, no. 177); in 1839-40 this was increased to £175,863, and in 1847-8 to £204,926 (*ibid.*, 1849, vol. IX, no. 499—Second Report from Select Committee on Army and Ordnance Expenditure, Appendix “G”, no. 202).

²³ Piers, *Halifax Fortress*, 54, gives a total of £173,298. Jervois’s estimate in 1865 (including work already done) was £180,000. Still larger sums were spent at Bermuda.

analogous to Gibraltar or Malta.²⁴ The Imperial government clearly considered that the Royal Navy still required such a base in this part of the world.

The functions of Halifax in British strategy in the latter part of the nineteenth century are fairly obvious. Although war with the United States would have been even less welcome than in earlier times, and was becoming less and less probable, it was still a contingency that had to be reckoned with; and if war had come Halifax would have been as important as ever both for attack and defence. At the same time, there were other antagonists to think about. In times of tension with Russia, there was always fear of armed merchant cruisers being let loose on the trade routes. France was a more important naval power and also a potential foe; and the possibility of a French cruiser war against British seaborne trade was one of the Admiralty's pet bogeys in this period.²⁵ In such an event, a well-equipped base close to the western termini of the main trans-Atlantic routes would have been a necessity. Halifax was still considered important enough to justify a continuation of large expenditures on fortifications. A new programme undertaken in 1888-9 pushed the sea defences out another stage—to Fort McNab and Sandwich Battery; and improvements continued until the withdrawal of the Imperial troops, when they handed over to their Canadian successors a well-armed modern fortress.²⁶

The considerations that caused the withdrawal are familiar. Britain's isolation was acutely uncomfortable during the nineties, but it seemed to portend no fatal consequences as long as she retained supremacy at sea. In 1898, however, Germany began to build a powerful navy, and this threat rapidly transformed British foreign policy and British strategy. The year 1904 witnessed both the Entente with France and the enunciation of a new naval policy—that of concentration in European seas. This policy was facilitated by the recent improvement in relations with the United States, which, along with the removal of the French naval threat, made it seem practicable to rely on American benevolence for the protection of British interests in western waters.²⁷ The last major Anglo-American territorial issue—the Alaska boundary—had just been liquidated; and in retrospect that liquidation, however dubious the manner of it, appears very good business. The South American and Pacific Squadrons now disappeared and the North America and West Indies Squadron in effect went too, being transformed into a Particular Service Squadron with no definite local habitation.²⁸ As a result, the dockyard establishments at Halifax, Jamaica, and Esquimalt (though not Bermuda) were cut down, and it was shortly arranged to transfer the two yards in Canada to the keeping of the Dominion. With the Navy going, the Army had no need to stay; the British troops sailed for home, and in January, 1906 the fortress was handed over to the

²⁴C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (London, 1936), 226.

²⁵A. J. Marder, *The Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880-1905* (New York, 1940), chap. VI.

²⁶Piers, *Halifax Fortress*, 58-62. These extensions were certainly still directed mainly towards the United States.

²⁷Marder, *Anatomy of British Sea Power*, 449-50.

²⁸Navy. *Distribution and Mobilization of the Fleet. Presented to both Houses of Parliament . . . December 1904.* Cd. 2335. (Memorandum by Lord Selborne). Cf. *Annual Register*, 1904, 227-8.

Canadian Department of Militia and Defence.²⁹ Thus the long second phase in the military history of Halifax drew to a close.

III. THE BRIDGE TO EUROPE IN TWO WORLD WARS, 1914-45

When the British soldiers and sailors departed, many people in Halifax undoubtedly felt that the glory of the city went with them and that history (as in *1066 and All That*) had come to a full stop.³⁰ These people were mistaken, for Halifax's greatest period was just beginning. Had the Admiralty fully foreseen the shape of things to come, it might indeed have been in less of a hurry to withdraw from the port; but nobody did foresee, in 1905 nor yet in 1914, just how far it would be necessary, in two great wars, for the New World to redress the balance of the Old. Britain had long been dependent on imported food and raw materials. She and her European allies were now to owe their survival, in great part, to men and munitions brought in from North America.

It would take too long to tell in detail the story of Halifax in the First World War. The dockyard worked overtime fuelling, provisioning, and repairing British and Allied warships; and the harbour became busier than ever before, with vessels by hundreds clearing for Europe freighted with the human and material means of waging war. For the second time in its history, the Halifax base had changed front. The first change had reflected a revolution in the political organization of North America; the second was the result of a fundamental shift in the military and economic balance between America and Europe.

In 1917 the submarine menace produced the convoy system, and this further enhanced the importance of Halifax. With its position, its defences, and its great extent of protected harbourage, it was a natural convoy assembly point; and in this capacity it served for the rest of the war, sharing the labour with Sydney. The record shows a total of fifty convoys and about 500 ships clearing from Halifax between August, 1917 and November, 1918.³¹ This task brought the city not only distinction but also disaster, in the terrible explosion of December 6, 1917.³²

Between the two World Wars Canadian defence planners tended to look to the Pacific rather than the Atlantic coast. A modest programme of coast-defence improvement was undertaken in British Columbia in 1937, but money for the fixed defences of Halifax and other Atlantic ports began to appear in the estimates only in the spring of 1939, after the severe shock administered by the Munich crisis. The air defences of the Maritimes, however, received attention rather earlier, development being fairly actively pushed from 1937 onward. In 1918, it may be

²⁹Annual Register, 1905, 64. Piers, *Halifax Fortress*, 62. For the formal arrangements under which the dockyards were transferred, see *Canadian Papers*, 1938, Series C, no. 3 (Canadian Institute of International Affairs, prepared for British Commonwealth Relations Conference). The whole development is briefly surveyed in C. P. Stacey, *The Military Problems of Canada* (Toronto, 1940), 69-70, 170-71.

³⁰T. H. Raddall, *Halifax, Warden of the North* (Toronto, 1948), 244.

³¹Sir H. Newbolt, *History of the Great War based on Official Documents . . . Naval Operations*, vol. V (London, 1931), Appendix "B". The ship total cannot be given exactly, as Halifax and New York figures for March, 1918 are not separated.

³²Raddall, *Halifax*, 266-72.

recalled, a flying-boat station had been established near Dartmouth, and from it the Royal Canadian Naval Air Service, with large United States assistance, had flown anti-submarine patrols in the last months of the war. Now Dartmouth was made the most important unit of the new Maritime air programme; the seaplane base was extended, and a field for landplanes was developed alongside.³³

Turning to that war which is still so fresh in our memories, one is struck by the number of respects in which, for Halifax, the Second World War was simply the First writ larger, and in which the experience of 1914-18 was applied to advantage in 1939-45. The convoy system, for instance, was a late development in the First War; but in 1939 Convoy HX-1 sailed for the United Kingdom on September 16.³⁴ It was the first of a series that lasted throughout the German war. All told, approximately 17,600 ships, in ocean and coastal convoys, sailed out past Chebucto Head in the course of this war.³⁵ The great harbour worked and served as it had never done before. Many of the ships were troopships, for of nearly half a million Canadian soldiers and airmen who went overseas almost all sailed from Halifax.

The Germans were well aware of the place of the port in the Allied effort, and of the desirability of an effective blow against this great focus of shipping. On February 23, 1940, Admiral Raeder begged Hitler to let him send two submarines to operate off Halifax with mines and torpedoes. They would quite probably have had a field day, but Hitler refused his consent "in view of the psychological effect on the U.S.A."³⁶ No submarines actually operated off the Canadian coast until after Pearl Harbor. The same apprehension of bringing the United States closer to the war doubtless reinforced the fear of the city's own defences to make the German surface raiders keep their distance. None seems to have come within 500 miles.³⁷

Thus, in this as in four earlier wars, the Halifax gunners found nothing at which to shoot. The batteries were again improved during the war, and could certainly have made things hard for any raider; but the enemy, as usual, preferred to go where the guns were *not*. One form of attack which had been feared before 1939, but which did not materialize, was small raids by ship-based aircraft. Such enterprises might have done extensive material and moral damage in the early days, when the port's anti-aircraft defences were painfully weak.³⁸

The city, of course, was no longer dependent merely on guns for its defence. It now had a much longer arm, the R.C.A.F. at Dartmouth, where about five squadrons were normally based. And the Navy was

³³Stacey, *Military Problems of Canada*, chap. IV.

³⁴S. E. Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, vol. I: *The Battle of the Atlantic, September 1939-May 1943* (Boston, 1947), 18. Canadian official accounts of naval operations will be published shortly.

³⁵Information from Naval Service Headquarters, Ottawa. The importance of Halifax was somewhat reduced after the main trans-Atlantic terminus was shifted to New York in September, 1942; but subsidiary convoys continued to sail from Halifax to join the main New York ones, and troopships and coastal convoys continued to use the port.

³⁶*Fuehrer Conferences on Naval Affairs, 1940* (Admiralty, 1947), 12.

³⁷Commander E. V. St. J. Morgan, "Sea Raiders in the 1939-45 War" (*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, XCIV, Feb. 1949, 21-36).

³⁸Every effective A.A. gun in Canada was concentrated at Halifax a few days before war broke out, but as there were only four the effect was not imposing.

as active as ever; in this war, building on the foundations laid in the previous one, it was far more R.C.N. and less R.N. than before. When the U-boats appeared in Canadian waters in 1942, a battle began which continued until the German surrender; the evidence of its fierceness was the desperately-damaged ships that limped into Halifax for repairs. As late as April, 1945, H.M.C.S. *Esquimalt* was sunk in the actual approaches to the port. During these years, aircraft of Eastern Air Command made eighty-three attacks and destroyed six submarines; nineteen of the attacks were made by the Dartmouth squadrons, which however did not have the good luck to score a kill.³⁹ The whole battle, in the Canadian sector, was directed from Halifax, where the Navy (Canadian North-West Atlantic), the Army (Atlantic Command), and the Air Force (Eastern Air Command) all had their headquarters.

Volumes could and will be written about the Atlantic bridge that carried the means of victory from America to Europe in the Second World War. It was an almost miraculous structure. One fact is enough to support this statement. During the war we sent to England some 370,000 men and women of the Canadian Army. Of this number, exactly seventy-three were lost at sea.⁴⁰ This is the measure of the valour, skill, and devotion of the Naval and Air forces and of the merchant navy, who kept the seaways open and thereby made victory possible. Ships and aircraft, however, need bases. The Canadian bases were the western abutments of the bridge. There were several of them; Sydney, and St. John's, Newfoundland, were of particular consequence. But the part played by Halifax was proportioned to the port's long and distinguished history. The events of 1939-45, heroic, proud and tragic, provided an eminently fitting climax for the city's second century. If Edward Cornwallis was looking on, from whatever place old soldiers go to when they finally fade away, he must have felt well satisfied with the results of the enterprise which he directed so long ago. The British Crown has made in its time some notably successful investments; but it is doubtful whether any of them has ever returned larger or more consistent dividends than the money that was spent on establishing a military station on the shores of Chebucto Bay in 1749.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Bell said that he had been in charge of aircraft overhaul in Halifax during the war. While he had never feared attack by German troops landing on the Nova Scotia coast, he had feared attack by German submarines mounting guns. He asked why Halifax, lacking the complete blackout of London, was never attacked by gun-mounting submarines.

Colonel Stacey said that Hitler would not hear of operations against North America during the early part of the war. During the later years the enemy became more enterprising; nevertheless, it was never German policy to engage in pin-prick attacks. Colonel Stacey agreed that, although the amount of damage would likely have been small, the moral effect of such attacks would have been great. Attacks of

³⁹Information from Air Historian, R.C.A.F. Both the R.C.N. and the R.C.A.F. made most of their kills outside of Canadian waters. In all theatres, the R.C.N. destroyed or shared in destroying twenty-seven submarines, the R.C.A.F., twenty-three.

⁴⁰All in the S.S. "Nerissa", 30 April, 1941.

the nature suggested by Mr. Bell would have had the effect of tying up in Canada resources much needed in Europe. A perusal of the German documents has not, however, revealed any proposals for such attacks.

Mr. Trotter expressed satisfaction that Colonel Stacey's paper had placed Halifax in its proper position in the broad continental picture rather than in the more local maritime Canadian picture. He agreed that the "undefended frontier" was one of the historical myths of Canada. Not only the Halifax Citadel, but Fort Henry at Kingston and the Rideau Canal were built by the imperial government after the signing of the Rush-Bagot agreement.

Mr. Wright pointed out that the location of Halifax harbour, had significance not only in relation to the Atlantic ocean, but also in relation to the Minas Basin, to Windsor, and to Fort Cumberland (Beauséjour). He said that Sydney formed an adjunct to Halifax as a naval station and that it had been garrisoned by British troops for a period during the nineteenth century.

Mr. MacGregor asked whether the St. Lawrence had been used for convoys during the War of 1939-45.

Colonel Stacey replied that although the St. Lawrence had been used during the War of 1914-18, it had not been used to the same extent during the War of 1939-45. A proportionately greater volume of traffic passed through Halifax during the second war than during the first, even after allowance is made for the use of New York.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS AND SITES, 1948-1949

BY THE NATIONAL PARKS SERVICE, LANDS AND DEVELOPMENT SERVICES BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF MINES AND RESOURCES

THE National Parks Service is entrusted with the restoration, preservation, and administration of national historic parks and sites, and the commemoration of the public services of outstanding persons in Canadian history. The Service is advised in this phase of its work by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, an honorary body of recognized historians, representing the various provinces of the Dominion.

The personnel of the Board is as follows: Chairman, Dr. J. Clarence Webster, Shédiac, New Brunswick; Professor Fred Landon, London, Ontario; Professor D. C. Harvey, Halifax, Nova Scotia; the Honourable E. Fabre-Surveyer, Montreal, Quebec; J. A. Gregory, North Battleford, Saskatchewan; the Reverend Antoine d'Eschambault, Gethon, Manitoba; Professor M. H. Long, Edmonton, Alberta; Professor Walter N. Sage, Vancouver, British Columbia; the Honourable Thane A. Campbell, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island; Dr. Wm. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Ontario; and W. D. Cromarty, National Parks Service, Ottawa, Ontario.

The annual meeting of the Board was held in Ottawa, May 17-19, 1948, when a wide variety of matters relating to the historic background of the Dominion were reviewed. Of the many sites that have been considered by the Board to date, 365 have been marked or acquired and 206 others recommended for attention at a later date.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS

Fort Anne National Historic Park is situated in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The museum building, restored in 1935, was originally the Officers' Quarters and was built in 1797-8 under the supervision of Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, when he was commander-in-chief of the British Forces in North America with headquarters at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The bank of the driveway through the north east ravelin was graded; several rooms in the museum building were painted together with some of the outer walls; the roof of the powder magazine in the Bastion de Berry was also painted as were all signs on the Park grounds, the coats of arms over the two front doors, the cannon and the posts and chain fence along the driveway. A new drain was constructed in the west moat, the powder magazines and all the bronze tablets were cleaned, the hedges were trimmed, and improvement work carried out on the driveway and paths.

A total of 14,547 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Port Royal National Historic Park is situated at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia. A replica of the group of buildings, which sheltered the first European settlers in Canada, has been erected on the exact site where the Port Royal Habitation stood nearly three and a half centuries ago. The original Habitation was the headquarters for about two years of Samuel de Champlain, famous explorer and chief geographer to Henry IV of France, who chose the location and drew up the plan of settlement.

The wooden walls and steps in the wine cellar which had deteriorated were replaced in stone; the parchment windows throughout the buildings were repaired and a cannon was mounted on a suitable platform and painted. The grounds and buildings were carefully maintained, drains cleaned, fence repaired, doors to the various rooms painted, and all iron work cleaned and oiled.

Visitors registered at the Park during the year numbered 10,633.

Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park is situated about three miles from the town of Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. Here were enacted the early stages of the long struggle which culminated in the possession of Canada for the British Crown. Erected more than two centuries ago by the French, who had named the settlement in honour of Louis XIV, King of France, Louisbourg was captured by the British forces in 1745, but was subsequently handed back to the French. The fortress was again besieged by the English and finally captured by them in 1758. It is interesting to recall that one of the brigades of infantry engaged in the recapture of Louisbourg was commanded by General Wolfe, who was later to die heroically at Quebec.

A new entrance road was constructed from the Park gate to the museum; repairs were made to the copper roof of the museum and also to the outer walls. All woodwork in the museum and custodian's quarters was painted together with the iron gratings and the flag pole. Repairs were made to the old casemates. Portions of the convent wall and the east wall of the hospital, including two fireplaces, were rebuilt as was the bridge over the moat at Rochefort Point. A new electric lighting system to the Park was installed by the Nova Scotia Power Commission. Old telephone poles were removed and the fence enclosing the Park property was repaired. A large anchor, raised from the harbour, was presented to the Park by the Department of Transport and placed in a suitable location.

A total of 5,012 persons signed the visitors' book.

Fort Beauséjour National Historic Park is situated near Sackville, New Brunswick. Built by the French, the fort was intended to be an Acadian stronghold against the undefined claims of the English to Acadia. Around the fort the Acadians had their homes and farms. It was captured by the British, under Monckton, in 1755, when the fort was strengthened and its defences extended by a system of entrenchments, traces of which still remain.

A new addition to the museum was erected to house the many exhibits received in recent years. This is to be known as the John Clarence Webster Wing as a tribute to the services of Dr. Webster the honorary curator of the museum. Considerable grading and levelling work was carried out adjacent to the museum in order to extend the lawns and this adds greatly to the general appearance of the Park. Additional road signs were made and erected. A number of these relate to the site of the La Coupe Dry Dock near Fort Beauséjour, which has been donated to the Department by Dr. Webster.

Visitors registered during the year numbered 19,007.

Fort Chambly National Historic Park is situated about twenty miles southeast of Montreal, on a conspicuous headland on the Richelieu River. The first fort, built by the French in 1665 as a protection against the Iroquois, was of wooden construction. After many vicissi-

tudes, it was rebuilt of stone, this work being completed in 1711. In 1760 the fort was surrendered to the British, who, with a small armed force, held it until 1775. In that year the Americans captured the fort which they evacuated in the following year. The fort was later repaired and garrisoned by Sir Guy Carleton and played an important part in the War of 1812.

A new storage building of stone construction was erected within the Fort, the walls of the dungeon and the magazine were repointed, flagstones were laid in the picnic grounds, and the drinking fountain was repaired. All window screens, picnic tables, and benches were painted, the septic tank cleaned, and the roofs of the toilet buildings reshingled. The grounds within the Fort were levelled, the paths in the cemetery raked and trimmed and flowers planted.

During the year 28,319 persons signed the museum register.

Fort Lennox National Historic Park is located on Ile-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River, about thirteen miles south of St. Johns, Quebec. The present fort, which stands on the site of one previously erected by the French, was built by the imperial authorities in the period from 1812 to 1827. The island, comprising an area of 150 acres, was acquired by the National Parks Service in 1921, and extensive works have since been carried out on the buildings and grounds.

Permission was granted to the Jeunesse Étudiante Catholique Organization to use a portion of the park property during the summer as a youth training centre, a new wharf was built on the east side of the island, and the bridge over the south moat was repaired; the roof of the Commissariat Building, the floors of the Officers' Quarters, the doors of the men's barracks, and the picnic tables were all painted. The rifles on display were cleaned and oiled. The parade ground was levelled and seeded, the ramparts, picnic grounds and cemetery were properly maintained and the hay on the island was cut. The shed at the rear of the Commissariat Building was demolished, repairs were made to the stable and the boat house was moved to a permanent location. New toilet facilities were provided for both men and women.

Visitors registered in the Park during the year numbered 2,888.

Fort Wellington National Historic Park is situated at the east end of the town of Prescott, Ontario, and adjacent to Highway No. 2. The fort, named after the Duke of Wellington, was erected when the British authorities decided to fortify Prescott as one of the most vulnerable points of attack in the War of 1812, and as the main base for the defence of communications between Kingston and Montreal. It remains as it was when finally completed in 1838, an impressive landmark.

The wall between two rooms on the ground floor of the blockhouse was removed, making one large room which has been converted into a modern museum. New washrooms and storage room were provided in an existing building which has been completely renovated. The Fort buildings were painted, repairs made to the floor of the blockhouse, the walls of the caponniere were repointed, large stones on the Fort grounds were buried while others were removed. Maple trees were planted to replace those that have died.

A total of 8,390 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Fort Malden National Historic Park is situated in Amherstburg, Ontario. The fort was built in 1797-9 by the Second Battalion Royal

Canadian Volunteers. It was strengthened in 1812 as the principal military station on the western frontier and dismantled and abandoned in September, 1813. Only slight evidences of the original fortifications remain.

The retaining wall along the front of the Fort property facing the Detroit River was completed and considerable repairs were carried out on the roadway at the Park. The Old Mess Hall and the sun porch of the "Old Fort" building were re-roofed. A number of paintings and drawings were forwarded to be hung in the various rooms of the latter building. Many additional articles of historical interest were donated to the museum and a leaflet relating to the Park was prepared, copies of which are now available to visitors. The toilets were painted, benches repaired, and the grounds carefully maintained.

During the year 14,004 persons signed the museum register.

Fort Prince of Wales National Historic Park is situated at the mouth of Churchill River, Churchill, Manitoba, and comprises an area of approximately fifty acres. The fort was built from plans drawn by English military engineers, to secure control of Hudson Bay for the Hudson's Bay Company and England. Construction was commenced in 1733 and completed in 1771. It was surrendered to, and partially destroyed by, a French naval force under La Perouse in 1782. Its ruins, which are among the most interesting military remains on this continent, have been partly restored and over forty cannon have been unearthed. Those suitable have been mounted on the walls of the fort.

General supervision was carried out.

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES

Lucy Maud Montgomery, O.B.E., Prince Edward Island National Park. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected at Cavendish in Prince Edward Island National Park to Lucy Maud Montgomery, author of "Anne of Green Gables." This was the first in a series of novels which cast a romantic glow over her native province and gained for her international fame as the creator of "one of the immortal children of fiction." The monument was unveiled on September 12, 1948, by the Honourable J. A. Bernard, lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island.

Thomas Beamish Akins and Beamish Murdoch, Halifax, N.S. Bronze tablets were placed in the main entrance of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia to Thomas Beamish Akins, historian and first Archivist of Nova Scotia, and to Beamish Murdoch, lawyer, legislator, journalist, and historian.

James Boyle Uniacke, Halifax, N.S. A tablet was placed in the Province House to James Boyle Uniacke, Tory leader in the Assembly, 1838-40. He was a member of the coalition government, 1840-3 and leader of the first party administration recognized under responsible government, 1848-54.

The Right Honourable William Stevens Fielding, P.C., Halifax, N.S. A tablet was placed on the Tramway Building to the Right Honourable William Stevens Fielding, journalist and statesman. He was premier of Nova Scotia, 1884-96 and minister of finance for Canada, 1896-1911 and 1921-5. The tablet was unveiled by the Honourable J. A. D. McCurdy, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, November 24, 1948.

Ancient Indian Portage near Woodstock, N.B. A tablet was affixed to the Fort Meductic cairn to mark the portage from Meductic to Eel River which led to the waters of the Penobscot and formed part of the main route of travel between Acadia and New England. During the French régime, military expeditions against the English settlements travelled by way of this portage.

Oliver Goldsmith, St. Andrews, N.B. A tablet was placed on the Post Office building to Oliver Goldsmith, author of "The Rising Village," a New World contrast to "The Deserted Village." He was the first native-born Canadian poet to achieve more than a local reputation.

William Francis Ganong, Saint John, N.B. A tablet was placed in the New Brunswick Museum to William Francis Ganong, scientist, cartographer, geographer, and historian. He was professor of botany at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, U.S.A., 1894-1932. The tablet was unveiled by the Honourable D. L. MacLaren, lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick on August 27, 1948.

Gananoque, Ontario. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected on the grounds of the High School to commemorate the events which took place there during the War of 1812-14. It was a vulnerable point on the vital line of supply from Lower Canada and was raided on September 21, 1812, when the bridge across the Gananoque River was broken up. Fortified by the Leeds Militia and garrisoned in turn by the 104th, 41st, 89th, Canadian Voltigeurs, Royal Newfoundland, 57th and 70th Regiments, with Royal Artillery, it became the base for a division of gunboats cruising among the Thousand Islands for the protection of transport.

Fairfield on the Thames, near Thamesville, Ontario. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected adjacent to Highway No. 2 east of Thamesville to mark the site of the village of Fairfield, which was destroyed by invading American forces following the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. Its inhabitants, Delaware Indian exiles brought from Ohio to Canada in 1792 by Moravian missionaries, were re-established on the opposite bank of the river after the Peace of 1814. The monument was unveiled on August 15, 1948.

Charles Mair, Lanark, Ontario. A tablet was erected in the auditorium of the Town Hall to Charles Mair, poet, dramatist, and advocate of western expansion. He was an original member of the Canada First Group.

Sir Richard John Cartwright, P.C., G.C.M.G., Kingston, Ontario. A tablet was placed in the memorial room of the City Hall to Sir Richard John Cartwright, known as "The Rupert of Debate." He was finance minister of Canada 1873-8, and minister of trade and commerce, 1896-1911.

Sir Gilbert Parker, Bart., P.C., Belleville, Ontario. A tablet was placed in the Corby Public Library to Sir Gilbert Parker, author of *Pierre and His People* and other novels of Canadian Life. He was a member of the British House of Commons, 1900-18.

George Herbert Locke, Beamsville, Ontario. A tablet was placed on the Municipal Building to George Herbert Locke, educationist and author. He was chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, 1908-37. The tablet was unveiled on October 26, 1948.

North West Mounted Police, near Emerson, Manitoba. A cut-stone

monument with tablet was erected adjacent to the Lord Selkirk Highway in the Parish of St. Agathe to mark the site of Dufferin Barracks where, on July 8, 1874, the newly-formed North West Mounted Police consisting of 300 officers and men, having assembled there, left on its assignment to various posts in the Northwest Territories. The record of this distinctly Canadian force in policing the plains is a source of pride to the people of Canada.

Dr. Charles William Gordon, Winnipeg, Manitoba. A tablet was placed on the University Women's Club building to Dr. Charles William Gordon ("Ralph Connor"), author of *The Man from Glengarry*, *The Sky Pilot*, and other novels of Canadian life. The tablet was unveiled on June 2, 1948.

Chief Crowfoot, Gleichen, Alberta. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in the Blackfoot Indian Reserve to Crowfoot, Great Chief of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Fearless in war but a lover of peace, he promoted amity among the tribes of the plains and friendship with the white man. Under his leadership the Blackfoot ceded to the Crown title to their tribal lands in 1877, began to adopt a sedentary life, and remained loyal during the North-West Rebellion of 1885. His nobility of character, his gift of oratory, and his wisdom in council gained for him the title, "The Father of his People." The monument was unveiled on September 26, 1948.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING

THE annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, on June 10 and 11, 1949. The occasion marked the first meeting of the Association to take place in the Maritime Provinces, and it was particularly appropriate, in many ways, that the meeting could be arranged to coincide with the bicentennial celebrations being observed in Halifax during the summer of 1949. Dalhousie University and the city of Halifax provided a cordial welcome for the Association, and the meetings will be remembered most happily by those members of the Association who found it possible to attend. Toronto, Quebec City, Vancouver, and Halifax: these places of meeting for the Association in the past four years serve as an excellent illustration of the national character of the Association's membership and interests.

The proceedings at Halifax opened on the morning of June 10, with two papers being read. Professor D. G. G. Kerr of Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, presented a paper on "The New Brunswick Background of Sir Edmund Head's Views on Confederation," while Professor A. M. Fraser of Memorial University College, St. John's, Newfoundland, marked the entrance of Newfoundland into the Canadian federation with a review of "Confederation Negotiations between Canada and Newfoundland in the Nineteenth Century." Professor Fraser's presence at the 1949 meeting of the Association was highly appreciated; his election to a place on the Council being a tribute to himself and to the newest province of Canada. In the afternoon the usual joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association was held, under the chairmanship of Dr. A. E. Kerr, president of Dalhousie University. This meeting featured papers by Dr. R. D. Howland, vice-president, Nova Scotia Research Foundation, on "The Work of the Nova Scotia Research Foundation," and Professor J. H. Aitchison (formerly of the University of Toronto, now of Dalhousie University) on "The Municipal Corporations Act of 1849." The presidential addresses of the two societies were delivered in the evening of the same day, at a session under the chairmanship of Premier Angus L. Macdonald of Nova Scotia. Abbé Arthur Maheux, president of the Canadian Historical Association, presented a stimulating paper on "A Dilemma for Our Culture," at this session.

The final meetings took place on June 11, with the annual general meeting of the Association being held in the morning, followed by two papers, "La Plus Vieille Maison du Canada" (an account of the history of the old Jesuit house at Sillery, Quebec) by Rév. Adrien Pouliot of Le Collège des Jésuites, Quebec, and "Halifax as an International Strategic Factor, 1749-1949," by Colonel C. P. Stacey of the Historical Section, General Staff, Ottawa. In the afternoon an interesting visit to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia was arranged, through the kindness of Dr. D. C. Harvey, provincial archivist. Later members were taken on a tour of the historic sites in Halifax with members of the Nova Scotia Historical Society acting as guides. After the tour the Nova Scotia Historical Society tendered the Association a dinner at the Lord Nelson Hotel, at which two members from the staff of the Archives

of Nova Scotia presented papers on the social history of Halifax. Mr. C. B. Fergusson read a paper on "Eighteenth-Century Halifax," and Miss Phyllis R. Blakeley spoke on "Incidents in Victorian Halifax."

The following officers were elected by the Association for the year 1949-50: President—Professor A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota; Vice-President—Dr. G. E. Wilson, Dalhousie University; English Secretary and Treasurer—David M. L. Farr, Carleton College; French Secretary—Séraphin Marion, Public Archives of Canada; new members of Council to retire in 1952—Professor A. M. Fraser, Memorial University College; Dr. Hilda Neatby, University of Saskatchewan; Professor G. F. G. Stanley, Royal Military College; Marcel Trudel, Laval University.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed by the Association to the individuals who did so much to make the gathering a success. Premier A. L. Macdonald and the Government of the Province of Nova Scotia were thanked for a financial grant which allowed the Association to provide assistance for its members desiring to attend the meetings in Halifax, Dr. Kerr of Dalhousie University was thanked for his hospitable welcome and for the provision of splendid facilities to the Association, Dr. G. E. Wilson, chairman of the local committee on arrangements, was given a vote of thanks for his most successful efforts, and Dr. Harvey and the Nova Scotia Historical Society were remembered for the kindnesses shown in arranging a tour of Halifax and a complementary dinner for the Association on June 11.

The business meetings of the Council of the Association were productive of some important discussions. The healthy state of the reserve banking account of the Association was noted, standing at over \$2,000, and it was decided to purchase another \$500 bond from this reserve. This purchase has since been made, and brings the Association's holdings in bonds to \$1,500, which will form the nucleus of what is hoped will become an endowment fund. Discussion on the purposes of this fund brought out the suggestions that it be used for assisting publication of historical material, or as an endowment for the giving of an annual prize for notable achievement in historical studies. The size of the fund obviously makes it impossible to undertake any such ventures at present, but the Association's policy will be to increase this fund by contributions from members and other sources.

The Association also undertook to prepare a brief for presentation to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, touching on the subjects to be investigated by the Commission which were of special interest to members of the Association. This brief was drawn up by members of Council and submitted to the Commission on August 19, 1949, by the president (Professor A. L. Burt) and the past president (Abbé A. Maheux). The document included suggestions concerning the strengthening of the Public Archives of Canada, the preservation of historical material bearing on the public interest contained in the papers of ministers of the crown, and the acquisition of private collections of papers by the Archives. In addition the Association made recommendations regarding a National Library for Canada, expanded museum facilities in Canada, documentary films, governmental assistance to help publication of scholarly material, public aid to scholars attending major international conferences, a scheme of

national scholarships at the undergraduate and post-graduate level, and the establishment of a National Commission for UNESCO in Canada.

The Council also decided to publish an Index to the historical material in the *Annual Reports* of the Association as an aid to readers and researchers using these *Reports*. This index will be based on a private index to the *Reports* compiled by Dr. Lucien Brault of the Public Archives of Canada and kindly made available by Dr. Brault to the Association. The Index will be prepared under the supervision of the editors of the *Annual Report*, and will probably be published as a supplement to the *Annual Report* in 1951, when the Association marks its thirtieth anniversary.

DAVID M. L. FARR

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE
FISCAL YEAR ENDED APRIL 30, 1949

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand May 1st, 1948.....		2,024.57
Bank Interest.....	7.81	
Membership Fees and Sale of <i>Reports</i>	1,691.50	
Less amount collected for joint membership and remitted to Canadian Political Science Association	214.00	1,477.50
Grant from Province of Nova Scotia for travelling expenses for C.H.A. members to Halifax.....	1,000.00	
Loan from Reserve Account.....	500.00	2,985.31
		<u><u>\$5,009.88</u></u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Canadian Passenger Association.....	8.50	
Audit Fee, Cunningham & Co.....	10.00	
Exchange.....	21.40	
Less exchange added to cheques received.....	17.92	3.48
University of Toronto Press:		
<i>Printing Report</i>	1,028.57	
<i>Canadian Historical Review</i>	569.00	1,597.57
<i>Bulletin des Recherches Historiques</i>		85.12
Administration:		
Clerical Assistance.....	105.00	
Leclerc Printers.....	112.86	
Freight Charges.....	7.11	
Petty Cash, including Postage.....	90.00	314.97
Grants for Travelling Expenses of members to Vancouver.....	1,320.00	3,339.64
Balance on hand and deposit in the Bank of Montreal		<u><u>1,670.24</u></u>
		<u><u>\$5,009.88</u></u>

Examined with the books and vouchers and found correct.

CUNNINGHAM & Co.,
Auditors.

Ottawa, 23rd May, 1949.

DAVID M. L. FARR

English Secretary and Treasurer

RESERVE ACCOUNT

Balance 1st May, 1948:				
In Bank.....		989.00		
Dominion of Canada Bonds.....		1,000.00		1,989.00
<i>Receipts</i> —				
Bank Interest.....	11.67			
Bond Interest.....	30.00	41.67		
Life Membership Fees.....		68.50		
Exchange added to cheques received.....	.45			
Less exchange charged by Bank.....	.30	.15	110.32	
Transferred to Revenue Account for printing of <i>Annual Report</i>				2,099.32
				500.00
				<u><u>\$1,599.32</u></u>
Balance 30th April, 1949:				
On deposit in the Bank of Montreal		599.32		
Dominion of Canada Bonds:				
Due 1963 3%.....	500.00			
" 1966 3%.....	500.00	1,000.00	\$1,599.32	

Examined with the books and vouchers and found correct.

CUNNINGHAM & Co.,
Auditors

Ottawa, 23rd May, 1949

DAVID M. L. FARR

English Secretary and Treasurer

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(A) AFFILIATED SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

- Acadia University Library*, Wolfville, N.S., Mrs. Mary K. Ingraham, Librarian.
- American Antiquarian Society*. Clifford K. Shipton, Librarian, Worcester, Mass.
- Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal*, Chateau de Ramezay, 290 Notre-Dame St. E., Montreal. Victor Morin, LL.D., President, 57 rue Sainte-Jacques uest, Montreal; Pemberton Smith, Treasurer, 414 St. James St. W., Montreal.
- British Columbia Historical Association*. Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, President, Victoria, B.C.; W. E. Ireland, Hon. Treasurer, Victoria, B.C.; Miss H. R. Boutilier, Hon. Secretary, Vancouver, B.C.
- British Museum*, Dept. of Printed Books, London, W.C. 1, England.
- Canadian Military Institute*, 426 University Ave., Toronto, Ont. Col. F. S. McPherson, President; T. J. Jackson, Secretary-Treasurer.
- Carleton College Library*, 268 First Avenue, Ottawa.
- Chicoutimi, Séminaire de*, Chicoutimi, P.Q.
- Clark University Library*, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A. Louis N. Wilson, Librarian.
- Cleveland Public Library*, 325 Superior Ave. N.E., Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. Miss Leta E. Adams, Order Librarian.
- Columbia University Library*, New York, N.Y., U.S.A. D. B. Hepburn, Supervisor, Acquisition Department.
- La Société Historique de la Côte Nord*, Président, Mgr. René Bélanger, Baie-Comeau, Saguenay, P.Q.
- Dalhousie University Library*. Miss Ivy M. Prikler, Assistant Librarian, Halifax, N.S.
- Dartmouth College Library*, Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
- Geology and Topography Library*, Dept. of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.
- Hamilton Public Library*. Miss Freda F. Waldon, Librarian, Hamilton, Ont.
- Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery*, San Marino, Calif. Leslie E. Bliss, Librarian; Max Farrand, Director of Research.
- Historical Society of Alberta*. W. Everard Edmonds, Secretary, 11146-91st Ave., Edmonton, Alta.; M. H. Long, Treasurer.
- Hudson's Bay Company*, Canadian Committee Office, Winnipeg.
- Indiana State Library*, 140 N. Senate Ave., Indianapolis, Indiana. Kenneth R. Shaffer, Order Librarian.
- Institute of Historical Research*, University of London, London, England.
- Kingston Historical Society*. Lt. Col. C. M. Strange, President; Ronald L. Way, Secretary-Treasurer, Kingston.
- Kitchener Public Library*. Elizabeth Moore, Librarian, Kitchener.
- Legislative Library of Ontario*, Toronto, Ont. Legislative Librarian (Miss Edith King).
- Legislative Library of Quebec*. G.-E. Marquis, Librarian, Parliament Bldgs., Quebec.
- Library of Congress*, Washington, D.C.
- Library of Parliament*, Ottawa, Ont. F. A. Hardy, Librarian; Félix Desrochers, General Librarian, Ottawa.
- Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*. Col. Wm. Wood, President; D. S. Scott, Recording Secretary; Baron d'Avray, Corresponding Secretary; G. Henshaw, Treasurer.
- London and Middlesex Historical Society*. Hubert J. Trumper, President; Fred Landon, Treasurer, University of Western Ontario, London; H. Orlo Miller, Secretary, Box 571, London, Ont.
- London Public Library*. Richard E. Crouch, Librarian, London, Ont.; James S. Bell, Treasurer.
- McGill University Library*. Gerhard H. Lomer, M.A., Ph.D., F.L.A., Librarian, Montreal, P.Q.
- McMaster University Library*, Hamilton, Ont.
- MacNab Historical Association*. Wm. MacNab Box, President, P.O. Box 155, Foleyet, Ont.
- Manitoba, Historical and Scientific Society of*. J. E. Ridd, Secretary, 1445 Wellington Crescent, Winnipeg, Man.
- Montréal, Collège de*, 1931 rue Sherbrooke uest, Montréal, P.Q.
- Montreal University Library*, 2900 Mount Royal Blvd., Montreal.
- Mount Royal High School*, Town of Mount Royal, P.Q.
- National Liberal Federation of Canada* (A. G. McLean, Secretary), 172 Wellington Street, Ottawa.

- National Parks Bureau*, Dept. of Mines and Resources, Ottawa, Ont.
- Nouvel-Ontario*, La Société Historique du, Collège du Sacré-Cœur, Sudbury, Ont., Rév. F. Lorenzo Cadieux, S.J., Director.
- Nova Scotia Historical Society*. B. E. Paterson, President, c/o Halifax Club, Halifax, N.S.; F. A. Lane, Box 38, Secretary.
- Ohio State University, University Library*, Columbus, 10, Ohio, U.S.A.
- Ontario Historical Society*. Dr. J. J. Talman, President; Geo. W. Spragge, Treasurer, 206 Huron St., Room 216, Toronto, Ont.
- Peterborough Public Library*, Peterborough, Ont. (Wm. L. Graff, Librarian.)
- Princeton University Library*, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A. Lawrence Heyl, Acting Librarian.
- Provincial Library of Alberta*. Mrs. Frank Gostick, Librarian, Edmonton, Alta.
- Provincial Library of British Columbia*. Dr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.
- Provincial Library of Manitoba*. J. L. Johnston, Provincial Librarian, Winnipeg, Man.
- Provincial Library of Saskatchewan*. Mrs. Austin Bothwell, Librarian, Regina, Sask.
- Public Archives of Canada*, Ottawa.
- Québec, Département de l'Instruction Publique*, Québec.
- Québec, Ministère des Terres et Forêts*, Québec.
- Queen's University Library*. E. C. Kyte, Librarian, Kingston, Ont.
- Regina College Library*. Miss Emma Bell, Librarian, Regina.
- Royal Institute of International Affairs*, St. James's Sq., London, S.W. 1, England.
- Saguenay, La Société Historique du*. Abbé Victor Tremblay, Président; André Lemieux, Secrétaire, Séminaire de Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi, P.Q.
- St-Alexander, Collège de*, R 1, Pointe Gatineau, P.Q.
- Ste-Anne de la Pocatière, Collège de, Ste-Anne de la Pocatière*, P.Q.
- St. Francis Xavier University Library*. Sister Regina Clare, Librarian, Antigonish, N.S.
- Saint-Joseph Université, Le Bibliothécaire*, Saint-Joseph, N.B.
- Ste-Marie, Collège de*, 1180 rue Belury, Montréal, P.Q.
- Ste-Thérèse, Séminaire de, Ste-Thérèse*, P.Q.
- St-Hyacinthe, Séminaire de, St-Hyacinthe*, P.Q.
- Saskatchewan Historical Society*. J. A. Gregory, President; A. T. Hunter, Secretary, 403 McCallum Hill Bldg., Regina, Sask.
- School of Higher Commercial Studies*, 535 Viger Avenue, Montreal.
- Thunder Bay Historical Society*. J. P. Bertrand, President; D. G. Dewar, Secretary-Treasurer, The Public Library, Fort William, Ont.
- Toronto Public Library*. Charles R. Sanderson, Chief Librarian, College and St. George Streets, Toronto, Ont.
- Trois-Rivières, Séminaire des*, Trois-Rivières, P.Q.
- Trois-Rivières, Société d'Histoire Régionale de*, Séminaire des Trois-Rivières, P.Q.
- United College Library*. E. M. Graham, Librarian, Winnipeg, Man.
- University of British Columbia Library*, Vancouver, B.C.
- University of California Library*, Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A. Harold L. Leupp, Librarian.
- University of Cincinnati Library*, Burnet Woods Park, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A. Edward A. Henry, Director of Libraries.
- University of Manitoba Library*. Miss Elizabeth Dafoe, Librarian, Winnipeg, Man.
- University of Oregon Library*, Eugene, Oregon.
- University of Toronto Library*. W. S. Wallace, Librarian, Toronto 5.
- University of Western Ontario, University Library*, London, Ont.
- Victoria University Library*. Miss Emily Keeley, Library Assistant, Toronto, Ont.
- Webster Canadiana Library*, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N.B.
- Wellesley College Library*. Lois E. Engleman, Assistant Librarian, Wellesley 81, Mass., U.S.A.
- Windsor Public Library*. Miss Anne Hume, Librarian, Windsor, Ont.
- Wisconsin State Historical Society*, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisc., U.S.A.
- Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*. Mrs. J. M. Somerville, President, Kenniston Apts., Elgin St., Ottawa; Mrs. J. T. MacMillan, Corresponding Secretary, Ottawa; Miss Rita Bennett, Treasurer, 159 Patterson Ave., Ottawa.
- Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto*. Miss C. Roberts, President, 20 Earl St., Toronto; Miss Kate Symon, Corresponding Secretary, 68 Avenue Rd., Toronto; Mrs. C. L. Corless, Treasurer.
- Women's Wentworth Historical Society*. Mrs. George Wood Brown, President, 159 Aberdeen Ave., Hamilton, Ont.; Mrs. Bertie D. Smith, Secretary, 284 Hess St. S., Hamilton; Mrs. W. H. Magill, Treasurer.
- Yale University Library*. Donald G. Wing, Accessions Department, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

(B) LIFE MEMBERS

- Bell, Dr. Winthrop, Chester, N.S.
 Brebner, J. Bartlet, Dept. of History, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Brown, Dr. George W., Baldwin House, University of Toronto, Toronto 5.
 Burt, A. L., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Eames, Frank, Box 180, Gananoque, Ont.
 Ellis, Ralph, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.
 Graham, Gerald S., Dept. of History, King's College, Strand, London W.C. 2, Eng.
 Hardy, Mrs. A. C., Brockville, Ont.
 Helstrom, C. T. E., Box 27, Gray, Sask.
 Hudson's Bay Company, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg.
 Hyde, James H., Hotel Savoy-Plaza, 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
 Lanctot, Dr. Gustave, Dominion Archives, Ottawa.
 Landon, Fred, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont.
 Leonard, Col. Ibbotson, 782 Wellington St., London, Ont.
 Long, Morden H., University of Alberta, Edmonton.
 Lower, Dr. A. R. M., Queen's University, Kingston.
 Macdonald, Norman, Department of History, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont.
 Mackenzie, Donald R., 339 Island Park Dr., Ottawa, Ont.
 Morgan, F. Cleveland, 1455 Union Avenue, Montreal, P.Q.
 Morse, Dr. W. Inglis, 17 Fresh Pond Parkway, Cambridge, Mass.
 Musson, Charles J., 480 University Ave., Toronto.
 Myers, Leslie P., 89 Durie St., Toronto 3.
 Raymond, Hon. D., The Senate, Ottawa, Ont.
 Rimouski, Evêque de, Rimouski, P.Q.
 Riordin, Carl, 374 Cote-des-Neiges Rd., Montreal.
 Ross, J. K. L., 270 Cote-des-Neiges Rd., Montreal.
 Sage, Dr. Walter N., University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
 Saunders, Richard M., Baldwin House, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.
 Scott, S. Morley, Dept. of External Affairs, Ottawa, Ont.
 Sifton, Victor, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Winnipeg.
 Smith, Pemberton, 414 St. James St. W., Montreal.
 Somerville, Mrs. J. M., 355 B, Kenniston Apts., Elgin Street, Ottawa.
 Soward, Fred H., Dept. of History, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
 Stacey, Col. C. P., Dept. of National Defence (Army), Ottawa, Ont.
 Tombs, Guy, 1111 Beaver Hall Hill, Montreal.
 Tweed, T. W., 40 Montclair Ave., Toronto 10.
 Underhill, Frank H., Department of History, University of Toronto, Toronto.
 Wilson, Hon. Cairine N., The Senate, Ottawa, Ont.
 Wright, Mrs. E. C., Box 559, Wolfville, N.S.

(C) ANNUAL MEMBERS

- Adair, E. R., McGill University, Montreal
 Adams, Eric G., 2100 Clarendon Ave., Apt. 3, Montreal
 Addison, Miss Ruth, Economic Research Branch, Dept. of Reconstruction and Supply, Ottawa
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